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SERMON I.*

BY THE REV. ALBERT BARNES,

PASTOR OF THE FIRST PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH, PHILADELPHIA.

THE CONDITIONS OF PEACE.

"It is a good thing to give thanks unto the Lord."—PSALM 92: 1.

THERE never has been a time, in our own country, or in other countries, when, if a man had any thing to say that could comfort, animate, or encourage his fellow-citizens, or had any claim derived from his age, his position, or his experience to impart counsel, it could be more appropriately done than now. Involved in a war such as has existed in no other nation; with numerous enemies to the government in every part of the land; with reverses that tend to humble us in our own eyes and before the world; with comparatively little progress in the great objects of the war; with a demand on the resources of the loyal part of the nation that test to the utmost its ability and its patriotism; when measures are adopted, most extreme in their nature, and that try to the extreme

* A Thanksgiving discourse delivered in the First Presbyterian Church, Philadelphia, November 27, 1862.

of endurance the loyalty of the people—measures submitted to as a temporary necessity, only because it is believed that there are greater interests that would be imperiled if they were not adopted; with no manifest sympathy among the nations of the earth, and with little real sympathy from any of those nations; with the nations of the old world looking greedily for the entire breaking up of our institutions, and the overthrow of a free government, the result of so much sacrifice and toil, and the last hope of free institutions on the earth; a contest in reference to which the people from whom we have sprung, whose language we speak, whose religion we have inherited, and whose blood flows in our veins, seem most of all to rejoice at the prospect of our utter discomfiture, rupture, and downfall; exulting in our disasters, taunting us for a want of military and civil power and skill, and, under a pretense of neutrality, really in alliance with those who have risen in arms to overthrow the government, and strangely sympathizing with an organization based avowedly on the perpetual subjugation of one part of the race to the will of another—under circumstances such as these we meet to-day to inquire what there is to be thankful for; what there is to encourage hope; what there is to cheer in the prospect of the future; what should be done—what can we do for the afflicted land that we love?

Without, I trust, any improper reference of a personal nature, I may be permitted to say that I have reached a period of life when a man ought to be able to make some suggestions of value in such a crisis as this; when he ought to be able to say something that might be well founded in regard to the causes of such a state of things; to the evils which have brought so great calamities upon the land; to the remedies for those evils; to what may reasonably be hoped for in the future. I have, at any rate, reached a period of life when I have little to hope or to fear from my fellow-men; yet a period when a man, with any right feeling, is conscious of a stronger love for his country in proportion to the nearness of the time when he is soon to be withdrawn from it. In such circumstances a man may venture on suggestions which would have been less proper at an earlier period of life—suggestions, perhaps, not put forward with as much boldness and confidence as the suggestions of earlier years, yet, if he has reflected at all aright, with a more comprehensive view of the great issues at stake, and with deeper solemnity. He who has little to hope for personally in this world; whose aspirations must be now so almost entirely in the world which he is soon to enter, may still cherish a hope for his country, for the Church, and for mankind, not the less intense because the great blessings of religion and liberty are hereafter to be enjoyed by others, not by himself.

I shall venture, therefore, on this occasion to make some suggestions which I trust may not be improper, and which I am sure

will be well received so far as the intention goes, in reference to what our country has been as one of the family of nations; to the grounds of grateful feelings to-day; and to what seems to me to be demanded for the restoration of peace. The suggestions will be loyal, but they will be free. In all my life I have defended freedom of speech, and fought many a battle for it. I have felt no restraint on that subject hitherto; I feel none now. I believe that when freedom of speech shall be taken away, the last hope of the nation—the last remnant of liberty, will be gone.

I believe that we have the best Constitution, and the best mode of government in the world, and that it is the most wicked of all acts that man can do at home, and the most wicked of all things that nations can countenance abroad, to attempt to destroy that Constitution, and to overthrow that government. And yet I believe that mistakes were made in framing that Constitution, inevitable, it may have been, in the circumstances, which time has developed, and which have culminated in this most wicked rebellion; that there are evils contained in the Constitution which it is possible still to remedy and remove, and which must be remedied and removed, if the great purposes of the formation of the Constitution shall be carried out in a restored and permanent Union. Our fathers were not ignorant of the existence of those evils. They could not, or they supposed they could not, remove them. They hoped that time and wisdom, that the experience and the patriotism of the nation, would remove them. Time, progress, ambition, selfishness, conflicting interests, have developed the evil; rebellion has shown to us its magnitude; the desolations of war, the tens of thousands slain on battle-fields, the tens of thousands maimed for life, the tens of thousands of families bereaved, the tens of thousands of graves newly made, where sleep those who have been called forth in defense of their country, show how great was the evil, and call on the nation to arise and readjust our institutions in accordance with the eternal principles of righteousness. It may be that those evils could be removed only by the baptism of fire and of blood through which our nation is now passing.

The past in our history is fixed, and so fixed that, in the main, coming times will not reproach us; in such a way that foreign nations, however much they may now desire it, could not find occasion to exult over us. "The past," said Mr. Webster, in relation to a part of our country—to Massachusetts—"the past, at least, is secure. There is Boston, and Concord, and Lexington, and Bunker Hill, and there they will remain forever. The bones of her sons, falling in the great struggle for Independence, now lie mingled with the soil of every State, from New-England to Georgia; and there they will lie forever."* So we may say, in similar respects, of our whole country; of our whole history.

* *Speeches*, vol. i. p. 407.

There is Plymouth, there are Yorktown, and Saratoga, and Trenton, and Princeton, and there they will remain forever.

Thus, too, it is with the history of our fathers; with the settlement of our country; with the perils, the sacrifices, the self-denials, of those who came to this western world to found a new empire; to establish institutions that should be free. Foreign nations can not now go back and reproach us for what our fathers were, nor for what they did. Reproach for those who drove them out, and who compelled them to leave their own land, then a land of oppression, there is enough of in history, and the judgment of the world on that subject is not to be reversed. The world knows by heart the history of the men that came to this continent. It understands the reasons why they came. It has learned the character of their principles, and the extent of their sufferings. It knows what they did, and that record is engraved as in eternal brass. England, with all that is bitter in her feelings now, can not be suffered, and will not be suffered, to go back and change the judgment of mankind in regard to the reasons why the Pilgrims left her shores, or what they did in penetrating the forests of the New World. No nation has ever had such a commencement of its history as ours—so pure, so noble, so self-sacrificing, so comprehensive and far-reaching in the principles of the men who founded it. Not Egypt, nor Assyria, nor Babylon, nor Greece, nor Rome; not among the ancients, nor among the moderns, has there been a beginning in respect to which there will be so much which the world in its better days will be glad to retain in its history; one which it will be so unwilling to “let die.”

The past is fixed too as we would desire it should be, in regard to the establishment of the Independence of our country. It was not hasty; not rash; not ill-advised. It was not the result of passion; nor did it spring from any ill-feeling toward the mother-country, or any desire of doing her wrong. It was a measure resorted to after a long series of oppressions and wrongs, and after appeal and remonstrance had proved to be vain. To the British Sovereign; to the British Parliament; to the British nation, those appeals and remonstrances had been made long, and continued to be made till the last hope of their being effectual, even in the minds of those most reluctant to engage in war, had died away.

And the war of Independence itself was such that the nation has no cause to look upon it with shame; nor has history any thing to record in regard to it to our reproach. It was not, on our part, a war of barbarism; it was not conducted by calling in the aid of the scalping-knife and the tomahawk; it was not stained by bad faith, or by dishonorable deeds; it was not conducted on principles that subject us to just reproach among the nations. No great revolution was ever conducted with so little to give pain or cause regret in the recollection; no war has been waged at any time in

which there was so little to give just offense, or to shock the moral sense of mankind.

The past is fixed, and fixed, in the main, as we should desire it to be, in regard to the organization of the government of the country as Independent. It was done in a peaceful manner; it was done when the highest wisdom of the nation was summoned to calm and deliberate investigation. Not a measure was adopted as the result of force or of fear; not a provision was put into the Constitution at the instigation of the bayonet. Never before in the history of the world was there assembled such a body of men for the purpose of framing a constitution for the government of a great country, and never before has there been seen in our world a spectacle so sublime as pertaining to the origin of a nation, as when that constitution was submitted to the calm judgment of a people then numbering three millions. In securing its adoption, not a vote was forced; no man voted because he was afraid to vote otherwise; no man voted because his vote had been bought.

To the formation of that Constitution, and to the Constitution itself, we now look with gratitude, with pride, as the chief, the crown of the blessings which God has given to this land. To say that it has no defects, is what no American has ever been required to say; to say that it could not be made better, would be to deny the very principles of the Constitution itself, for it has made provision for its own amendment. Our fathers were sagacious enough to see that there were evils existing which there was not then power to remove, but which it was hoped time and good feeling might remove; they saw that among a people destined to grow and to spread over a vast extent of territory there might be provisions desirable which had not occurred to them; they saw that in the unknown future, when a comparatively small population should be multiplied to hundreds of millions; when a vast expanse of forest should be subdued, and become the abode of civilized men; when rivers and lakes then unexplored even so as to give their course or outline on a map, should bear on their bosoms the productions of a teeming soil; when the commerce of the infant nation might whiten every sea, and new relations might spring up with other nations of the earth, there might be occasion for change, and it might be proper to appeal to the wisdom of the nation and examine the new state of things which demands the change. The Constitution, we may admit, was not perfect. But it was the noblest and best that the world had seen. It has made us great. It has developed our resources. It has made us respected and feared wherever it was desirable that we should be respected and feared. It has created for us a navy; it has created a commerce; it has saved us from border wars; it has made the North what it is, and the South what it is; the great West what it is, and what neither could have been but for the Constitution.

The past is fixed in regard to our treatment of the nations of the old world, and fixed in a manner which we have little to regret, and little that we might wish now to have changed. We have desired sincerely to be with all those nations, at peace. We have been disposed to make equal and just treaties with them in regard to commerce. We have sought to take no improper advantage of them. We have been willing to visit with them every distant sea, and every distant port, and to share with them in the fair avails of commerce. We have impressed none of their seamen into our service. We have made no war on their peaceful pursuits. We have never intermeddled with their affairs, but have aimed to stand not merely professedly but really aloof from all the conflicts which they have waged among themselves; to maintain not a hollow and hypocritical, but a real neutrality in regard to the wars, right or wrong, in which they have been engaged. We have seen them often waging what we regarded as unjust wars. We have seen them invading peaceful nations. We have seen them attempt to suppress insurrection and rebellion in their own provinces by means that, as a Christian and civilized people, we could not but regard as barbarous and cruel—in a manner, that, in the language of the Earl of Chatham, when describing a measure which had been deliberately proposed in the House of Lords to be pursued in reference to the revolted colonies of America, “shocked us as lovers of honorable war, and as detesters of murderous barbarity.” We have seen them binding men to the cannon’s mouth, and sweeping them by scores into eternity. We have seen them, for the purpose of compelling a foreign nation to admit as an article of commerce, and of consumption, against their own just and humane laws, a drug most deleterious to the bodies and the souls of men—destructive to morals; destructive to religion; destructive to domestic peace; destructive to national progress—waging a fearful, a bloody, and a horrid war, until the object was accomplished, and the ports of the greatest nation of the world were compelled to be thrown open to admit that, in commerce, which would spread woe, and sorrow, and wretchedness every where. We have not interfered. We have not even taken part with the oppressed and the wronged. We have not, in a public and national manner, uttered the language of remonstrance at such barbarities and atrocities. We did indeed interpose when Scio was laid waste by fire and sword, and her beautiful villas and gardens were smoking ruins; when the olive-yards of the Peloponnesus were cut down, and the Turk had laid all waste; when Greece, once the land of beauty and the home of civilization and art, was suffering all the ills of famine from the desolation of a ruthless war—then we interfered by the noble resolution in Congress, and the noble speech of Mr. Webster, and by contributions, not of arms and implements of death, but of food for the famishing, from churches,

and villages, and private citizens, to relieve those sufferers. And when the scourge of famine and pestilence swept over Ireland, and England failed to supply the wants of the famishing, we did interfere—we hastened to relieve them: an act which Ireland has never forgotten, but which England has. Beyond things like these we have not ventured to interfere in the affairs of nations, remote or near; and in regard to nations, we have at least the consciousness that in our treatment of them we have endeavored to carry out the great principles which we have designed to lay at the foundation of our own prosperity, that justice, and truth, and honesty are the best foundation of a nation's progress, as they are of the welfare of an individual—that "righteousness exalteth a nation." That we are innocent in regard to all men—to those within our own borders—the Indian, the African, we can not indeed affirm; to foreign nations our course has not been one of dishonor and shame, and we are willing that it should be known and read by all men.

In all these respects we look with special pleasure and approbation on our treatment of the land of our fathers. England has been dear to us. There are the graves of the ancestors of our Carvers, our Brewsters, our Hancocks, and our Adamses—of our Henrys, and our Pinckneys—of Washington. Its language is ours. Its religion is ours. Its history is ours. We delight to think that Milton, and Cowper, and Shakspeare, and Newton, and Bacon, are no more theirs than ours. We visit that land with emotions such as we can have toward no other land—save Palestine, and in Westminster Abbey we sit down and weep, for there we are surrounded by the monuments, and tread on the graves of the illustrious dead whose names and works have been familiar to us from our cradles. We have not been unwilling to bear much from England; and to forget all the past, when we could show to her respect and affection. We welcomed the Heir apparent to her throne to our shores, and gave him an "ovation" in the land, not forced and formal, but hearty and sincere, for the nation honored and respected the pure and virtuous character of her that bore him, and wished well to him and to the land where he would occupy the throne.

The past is fixed, and fixed in the main as we would desire it should be, in regard to the manner in which the resources of this land have been developed; to our growth and our greatness. That we have been proud of this; that we have boasted of it; that we have attributed it to ourselves; that we have felt that we might defy the world; that we have supposed that nothing could now retard our progress; and that, with all that there has been of greatness in that which was good, there has sprung up a rank and pestilential growth of evil corresponding in some measure with the magnitude of the good, we are not disposed to deny.

But still the nation has become great; greater than any other nation has ever become in the same period of time; great, in the main, in the right direction. No other nation has ever advanced so rapidly, or developed such resources in the same period of time. Not Egypt; not Assyria; not Babylon; not Persia under Cyrus and his successors; not Greece; not Rome; not Germany, Gaul, or Britain. Britain—it was long and slow from the time of the Druids, from the time of Alfred, from the time of William the Red-haired, before the resources of the little island were in any measure developed—more than a thousand years from the time of Alfred. We might have hoped that England would have looked on, with gratification, at the amazing development here of institutions and of power, derived in a great measure from herself, and among those who spoke her own language. For the development here was in the same line as that which had made England, small in territory, great in wealth, in influence, and in power. It was a development in agricultural improvements, in schools, in colleges, in the comforts of life, in intelligence, in liberty, in religion, in commerce, in labor-saving inventions. We had carried out in our purposes all that we had derived of good from the mother country; we had endeavored to avoid that which was evil in her example, and to prevent the ill consequences of what she had entailed upon us. All that had been good in her learning, her religion, her laws, her literature, her morals, her arts, we were endeavoring to make our own, and to spread them as rapidly as possible over the vast domain which God had put in our possession, and we have done it to an extent which the world has never before seen. The evil which there had been in the memory of former things, and the evil in her example, and the evil which she had entailed upon us, we were endeavoring to avoid and remove. We had forgotten, as a people, the history of her persecutions—those persecutions which oppressed our ancestors, and which drove them out on the wide and stormy ocean in frail barks, to an uninhabited wilderness, and we were willing that those things should pass from our memory, and from the memory of mankind; saying, in kindness to the people of the mother country, as Joseph did to his brethren: "As for you, ye thought evil against us, but God meant it unto good." (Gen. 50 : 20.) We had seen evil in some of the institutions of the mother country, in her form of government, in her aristocracy, in her oppression of the poor, and we endeavored to avoid them, and to carry out, in free institutions, her own ideas of liberty. We did not inherit, perhaps partly from the necessity of the case, since God gave us, without a war of conquest, more territory than we know what to do with, her love of conquest, and we meant to live in peace with all the world. There was, indeed, and there is, one great evil which we had inherited, which has been our bane and the cause of all our trouble, which we had not,

up to the war, been able to remove. Our fathers complained that England had forced it upon us. It was an original charge in the Declaration of Independence, that this had been forced upon the Colonies without their consent. England was more responsible for it than we were. Those unhappy foreigners of a different skin had been conveyed here in British ships, and under British laws, and in the use of British capital, and for the purposes of British gain. The suppression of the trade was then demanded by no developed principle in the British constitution, and by no prevailing feeling of the British people. It was long, long after this, that the case of Somerset occurred, in which it was determined that slavery in England was contrary to the British constitution, and the delivery of the opinion of Lord Mansfield in that case constituted an epoch in English history. But the evil was already entailed upon us, and the great principle which was thus, at a late period, announced in England, came too late to reach the evil which she had inaugurated in the Colonies, for then we were an independent people. Oh! how happy had it been for us, for England, for Africa, for the world, if Mansfield had lived a century earlier; if a similar case had occurred then; and if the great sentiment of liberty which went forth when he uttered that memorable opinion, had covered the colonies as well as the little parent isle—that sentence which proclaimed that: “The air of England has long been too pure for a slave, and every man is free who breathes it. Every man who comes into England is entitled to the protection of English laws, whatever oppression he may heretofore have suffered, and whatever may be the color of his skin :

*Quamvis ille niger, quamvis tu candidus esses.**

But the evil was fastened upon us. It had struck its roots deep. It threatened to fill the land. We have not been able to remove it, and when we failed from want of power, or want of will, or both, God took the matter into his own hands; and on the throes, and conflicts, and stripes, and blood, and sacrifice, and sorrow, incident to it, England looks without sympathy, without any manifested regard for her own principles, apparently willing now that the curse which she entailed upon us shall rend our Republic, break down forever our free institutions, and bathe the land which she has herself twice endeavored in vain to conquer, in oceans of blood.

We may not boast. We have not been, and are not, as a nation, what we should be; but we may say without boasting, and in grateful language appropriate to this day, that the sun has yet to shine upon a land where there has been more public and private virtue; where there has been more domestic peace and

* Lord Campbell's *Lives of the Chief-Justices of England*, vol. ii. p. 231.

tranquillity; where there has been a wider influence of education; where the obligation of contracts has been more sacredly regarded; where there is more respect to law as law; where there is greater security of property or of personal rights; where there is, on the whole, as much purity of religion; where there is so much happiness springing from the virtues of domestic life. There has been, there is, no land where an unprotected female could travel so far, and meet with so much attention, and be so safe from rudeness. There is no land where so large a proportion of the population can read and keep accounts. There is no land where the laws can be so easily executed without the representatives and the insignia of military power. There is no land where life and property are so safe. I passed, as thousands of others have done, and still do, the early years of my life in a quiet home, on whose doors and windows there never had been a lock, or bolt, or a fastening of any kind—not even a nail; and where a peaceful and industrious family lived for more than half a century, without fear, alarm, or peril. To what other land will men go, save it may be Switzerland, where scenes like these are common?

So much for the years that have gone by, and whose results have ceased to be our particular history, and have passed into the general history of the world.

We meet to-day, especially, to recall the mercies of another year. It too is now passed, with all that it had for us of joy or sorrow, prosperity or adversity, peace or war, laughing or tears, sleep, rest, toil, trouble, anxiety, bereavement, gain, loss, public grief, or private sorrow. It has been such a year as our country has never experienced before, and will make more work for the calm and impartial historian of future times, than any one year in all our public history. For there are sad things to be recorded which may not look as sad as they now do, when they are fairly recorded; things to be explained, which can not now be explained; reverses to be set in a true light, whose causes can not now be understood; plans broken, defeated, or accomplished, not now understood, which are to have an important bearing on our future history, and whose bearings can only be seen in that future. There are men who, during this year, have made their first appearance on the stage of human affairs, whose life, plans, and purposes may exert a most important influence on the future history of the world; men whose characters are not yet understood, and whose acts can be explained only in future times, when the smoke and mist which now envelop them shall pass away, and there shall be the return of a clear and unclouded sky; for the land has not only been enveloped in the smoke and dust of battle, but the campaigns, the plans, the victories—why any, why not more; the characters and purposes of many of the actors in these scenes, are as yet enveloped in smoke and dust, like the battle-field. There

have been reverses such as no nation with similar power and resources ever knew; and there have been great deeds which will make the year memorable among all the years of our history. No man commends his own wisdom who pretends now to understand the events of this passing year.

There have been scenes, indeed, which have filled the land with sorrow, for the central part of our land is almost one great hospital or graveyard, and desolation has marched over great tracts which were before the scene of quiet homes, and green fields, and orchards; the peaceful places of churches and schools. If this were a day for fasting, humiliation, and prayer, it would seem to be much easier to find topics appropriate for such a day than for a day of thankfulness to God; nor should we forget this while we endeavor to find topics for devout acknowledgment of the divine goodness. "It is a good thing to give thanks unto the Lord," and man can always find, if he will, that for which his heart should rise in gratitude to his Maker.

Personally, life, health, food, raiment, home, friends, social blessings; the Providence which has kept us in the ways of virtue, honesty, and truth; the advances which we have made in knowledge; the tranquil hours that we have spent; the support we have had in trouble; the blessings of salvation and the hope of heaven; the fact that all along through the year God has been merciful to our unrighteousness, and has been willing to hear our prayers in all circumstances, and to save our souls—all these and kindred things should rise up to remembrance as we recall the events of another year.

Our land, too, even amidst the desolating scenes of war, has yielded abundance. Half a million and more of men have been withdrawn from the peaceful pursuits of life, and have been in tents, or without tents, away from their homes; and these too, in the main, composed of that class who do the hard work of the field, the plowing, sowing, reaping, and gathering into barns; yet in our Northern States it does not appear that an acre less than usual has been cultivated, and never have the fields yielded a more abundant harvest; never have the orchards been borne down with more abundant fruits; never in our history has there been, strange as it may seem, a greater amount of exports of those things needful for life.

The year has been a year remarkable for health, for freedom from the ravages, even the local ravages of disease. Not as in other years have we been summoned to sympathize with portions of our country visited with pestilential diseases, and to send or go, that those in attendance on the sick and the dying might themselves become martyrs in the cause of kindness and charity.

Our land, in schools, colleges, churches, seminaries of learning, is still a prosperous and a happy land. Those schools have not

been broken up; those colleges have not been disbanded—not even one closed by war; those churches, though diminished in many cases in the numbers sent and drawn for the field, are not closed; those seminaries of learning, for the youths of either sex, for agriculture, for preparation in the studies of the professions—law, medicine, divinity, are scarcely even checked in the career of providing for the wants of the next generation.

The nation, in all these things, in all that makes a nation prosperous, is prosperous even amidst these scenes of war, and there is not now on the face of the globe a land in passing through which a stranger would see every where so many evidences of domestic peace, of happy homes, of successful agriculture, of life, and energy, and activity, in the marts of business, or on the wharves of commerce, as in this land, even amidst all that is sad and desolating in war.

We have been enabled to maintain peace with the world at large; to secure the sympathy and kindness of some of them; to check the outrages and wrongs of others; to hold them at a distance when they threatened us; to calm their rage by successful acts of diplomacy and by just explanations when they were ready to make war upon us; to prevent a recognition of the portion of our land engaged in this great rebellion, even when the attempt has been made to show that every interest of foreigners, and all the concentrated hatred of our prosperity and of our institutions, and all the long-cherished desire of our division and our ruin, demanded such a recognition. In future times it will be regarded as among the most memorable things in this year that the independence of the Southern Confederacy was not recognized abroad, and that the affairs of our nation have been so wisely conducted in this respect, that God could properly so interpose and stay the wrath and the desires of interest, and hatred, and of jealousy, as to prevent a recognition which might have severed our Union forever, and which would have involved us in conflicts with the powers of the old world, and perhaps have kindled a universal war.

The power of the government to sustain itself, and the disposition of the nation to sustain it, have been evinced. If during the year now closing, we have not done all that we hoped to do; if there have been mistakes and errors in conducting the war; if there have been sad and mortifying reverses, it is still true that the rebellion has not been successful, and still apparent to ourselves and to the world that this government—this constitution—is settled on a foundation which no mere power of man can overthrow. Never in the history of the world has there been so formidable a rebellion as this, and never has there been a year which so much tried the strength of a government as this year has tried the strength of ours. Extraordinary measures have indeed

been adopted—measures regarded by a part of the people, even of the friends of the administration, as perilous to liberty, and not sanctioned by the Constitution; and endured only because they were regarded as necessary for the time, and, therefore, in the willingness to submit to such measures even for a time, furnishing one of the strongest proofs of the true amount of patriotism in the hearts of the people; but none of these things has had power to change the settled purpose of the nation to maintain the Union and the Constitution, and to restore peace by any expenditure of treasure and of blood that may be necessary. On this point there is at present but one voice at the North; and the formation of parties is not based on the question whether the war shall or shall not be prosecuted, and whether the government shall or shall not be sustained. I consider this firm purpose to sustain the government; to defend the country; to place at the disposal of the government all the money, and all the men that may be necessary to sustain its operations by land and by sea, as one of the most remarkable events in the history of the world, and one of the best evidences of the freedom, and at the same time of the vigor of the government. The year which is now closing may yet be regarded as among the most remarkable in the history of the world, as thus testing the power of a Republic, and answering the question so often asked with no friendly spirit abroad, whether republican institutions can be permanent; whether nations have the power of self-government. If this government can go through this war without being overthrown, there is no earthly power that it will have reason to fear, at home or abroad. Foreign nations see this; and with anxiety, and hatred, and hope, they are watching this struggle as decisive of what they have to fear in the working of their own institutions, and what they may have to fear if they provoke a war hereafter with the American people.

Perhaps most of all as adapted to shape the future history of our country, and to make this year remembered with gratitude by those who love the liberty of man, it may be regarded as most eventful in breaking the bonds of servitude, and removing the great evil—the cause of all our troubles. In the din and conflict of battle; in the anxiety which all have felt in regard to the armies summoned from the people—the anxiety of fathers, and mothers, and wives, and brothers, and sisters, about those dear to them exposed to the perils of the camp; in the wail of sorrow which has come up from all parts of the land; in the records of victories and defeats, keeping the attention of the nation fixed most intensely on one object, there may have been scenes enacted which have scarcely attracted attention, which will go more deeply into the future welfare of the nation than any events which have occurred in former times, and which, now occurring almost without notice, could not have been secured before without

the danger of a revolution. Twenty years ago it required all the talent, the eloquence, and the influence of John Quincy Adams, to dare to present to Congress a petition for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, and a law to that effect then would have involved the nation in a civil war. This year it has been done; and so quietly and calmly that the nation has been scarcely aware of it: and yet it is done; it can not be undone. The Territories—the vast Territories—of the nation, hereafter to be great States larger than many of the kingdoms of the old world, are free, and, as territories, they are to be free forever from the tread of the slave; from laws reducing men to chattels; from laws which authorize the traffic in the bodies and souls of men: yet who almost is aware of it? Who has heard a voice of thanksgiving for it? Who has reverently paused in the din of arms, and the surges of war, to thank God for it?

A blow has been given to the slave-trade this year such as has never been struck before. It was indeed piracy by our laws, and by the laws of other nations; but it was piracy on paper only. In our principal marts of commerce, and under the influence of men most prominent for station, and wealth, and enterprise, vessels were freely fitted out for this traffic, and the infamous men engaged in the traffic were allowed to go at large with impunity. It needed an example to show that any thing was meant by our paper laws, and that we were not dealing falsely with mankind in proclaiming the traffic to be piracy; and it needed, and it found, one man who had firmness enough to carry out the principle, and to show what the nation understood by the term as applied to that species of commerce, and at last one guilty man for this crime has suffered the just penalty of the law. A great movement, such as this nation has never before seen, has been suggested and recommended on the subject of emancipation. Never before has a suggestion on that subject been made by a President of the United States; never before commended to Congress; never before received the sanction of the Representatives of the people: and yet it was so wise, so calm, so free from any attempt at compulsion; it so left it to the States themselves; it offered such a fair compensation; it would have such ultimate influences if acted on, as, in the very form in which it was submitted, to constitute an epoch in the history of our country. It was an epoch in the history of England when a member of Parliament ventured to suggest the idea of Emancipation in the British colonies: it was much more when a President of the United States ventured to use the term, and to suggest the idea, as a practical one. And then this year will be still more remarkable for things not yet recorded; whose bearings are not yet seen; whose influence on this subject is to go far into future times; things which, whatever may be the issue of the present conflict, will make new

adjustments necessary. Slavery is not what it was; it will never be what it was again. The Fugitive Slave Law is not what it was; it can never be what it was again. The slave all along the Border States is a different being from what he was; is more of a man; is less a "chattel" and a "thing;" is of less value as "property" than he was, or ever will be again. The power springing from this source, which once, and so long, controlled the nation, is broken, and, whatever may be the issue of this struggle, is not to be a controlling power again. Thousands, and tens of thousands, have tasted of freedom who never knew it before, and we begin to look on to times when the land shall be free. Could we now see what the future patriot will see; could we see all the secret influences at work this year for the good of the nation; could we see all those deep and broad streams of liberty and happiness which will flow out to future times to fertilize and bless the land and the world: no language which we can use now would be such as would properly express the praise due to God for what may spring out of the events of this year. Our minds are indeed pensive and filled with sadness. Our eyes "pour out tears unto God." But there is light beyond; and those who will live in the future, may see, even in what gives us sorrow now, reasons for adoration and praise in a land made more happy; a land without our conflicts and troubles; a land where man shall be every where recognized and treated as a man; a land that shall be truly free.

The past is fixed; and we should be grateful to-day. The future is to us now the great source of solicitude and anxiety. This dreadful war! When will it end? How will it end? What good will be accomplished by it? What compensation can there be for all this blood and treasure—for all these woes and sorrows? What will be the condition of our country when it is ended? Shall we be one, or two, or many; a people with one government; one constitution; one purpose: or a broken people with no government, and no constitution; a people destined to perpetual border wars, or a people, all our liberties gone, to be collected into one, if ever one again, under a military despotism? We can not but ask these questions with anxious hearts; we can not answer them; we can not find any thing that will calm the mind but in the belief that there is a God, and that the God of our Fathers, having now, as he had in their troubled days, his own plans, can and will interpose as he did then. At his feet we are safe; and at his feet we may be calm, and there, with humbled hearts, having learned great and valuable lessons in regard to our pride, and self-sufficiency, and dependence, it is his manifest purpose to bring us. When we are actually brought there, with right feelings, then, and not till then, may we "look up," for then we may feel that "the day of our redemption draweth nigh."

But can we see nothing now to inspire hope? Can we see

nothing that may be changed for the better by the war? Can we see no evils in the past that this fearful struggle is likely to correct? Can we not see what would conduce to permanent peace, and what would prevent a recurrence in future times of such fearful and bloody conflicts? Valuable above what our fathers left us, rich as was that inheritance, will be the legacy which we of this generation shall leave to after-times, if we can leave a government, a constitution, where the causes of collision will be removed, and those evils which have been culminating for eighty years will exist no more.

There will be peace. This war, among a people of the same language, the same religion, the same interests, will not last always; it will not last long. All men must see that it must come to an end; all see that it must come to an end at no distant period.

There will be great results that will come out of the war. It is indeed true that war not always, perhaps rarely, affects the great points immediately at issue; but it is also true that there are other results invaluable to mankind that spring indirectly out of war. There are few great principles of liberty in our institutions, or in the world, whose establishment has not been effected as the result of bloody wars: principles that are worth to mankind all which they have cost; whose influence in promoting the happiness of the world is more than a compensation for all the treasure and blood expended—as the blessings of Christianity are more than an equivalent to mankind for all the toils of apostles, and the sufferings of martyrs.

But can any one suggest now what would be the conditions of a permanent peace; what would remove forever the causes of war and alienation; what would be equal justice to all, to the North and the South; to humanity; to the world? May we venture to suggest, to what point things are tending; can any one venture to paint and describe some of the "shadows" which coming events are forming, and of which the outlines may begin to be apparent?

It can not be the recognition of the Southern Confederacy. In such a recognition, under any form, and with any conceivable arrangement, there must remain the occasions for war, for constantly recurring appeals to arms. Apart from the principle, the asserted right of secession which this would involve, and which might be as proper in any other case as the present; apart from the public recognition as right of all the treason in high places, the robbery, and the wrongs done to the nation's property and the nation's honor, there would be things which could never be adjusted to the idea of peace and concord. With fifteen hundred or two thousand miles of coterminous territory, requiring vigilance at every mile in collecting the revenues, and every where

furnishing occasions of collision; with different views of trade and commerce; with great rivers flowing across any possible boundaries, and whose navigation would be necessary for the prosperity of either portion; with the different institutions of freedom and slavery coming constantly into collision; with no common regulations in regard to commerce and trade; with no united strength as presented to the nations abroad; with no national credit; with no national navy; with no national name, there could not be arrangements for permanent peace.

It is equally clear that there can not be permanent peace under the arrangements which have existed heretofore; even those which have been admitted into the Constitution. The same causes would again produce the same effects. This war is not accidental. It is not a sudden outbreak. It is not the result of individual ambition. There are things in the frame of the government which have tended, under existing circumstances, to produce it, and which would produce it again. There are evils whose growth could not be checked by any provisions in the Constitution; evils which mere time could not remedy. No man is bound by any proper principles of loyalty to say that the Constitution is perfect; no man exposes himself to any just charge of disloyalty to say that it might be amended to advantage; no man is now in the interest of the rebellion who ventures to say that the amended Constitution of the "Southern Confederacy" has provisions which it would be well to introduce into the General Constitution of the Union.

It is not strange that in an instrument like that of the Constitution of the United States, a readjustment might be demanded. Our fathers, as already remarked, wise as they were, saw this, admitted it, made provision for it. But few years passed away, as yet without any painful collision, but anticipating such a possible collision, when it was found necessary to apply the principle, and at no period has it been regarded as showing any disrespect to that immortal instrument, to suggest that it might be amended. After eighty years in which its practical workings have been seen; after the wonders which have been wrought under it; after all the proofs of amazing wisdom in its general structure and provisions; after all that it has done to give us a place among the nations of the earth; and after the experience of the evils which have resulted from a few of its provisions, as now developed in scenes of dreadful carnage and blood, assuredly there should be wisdom and patriotism enough in the North and the South to attempt a readjustment; to secure the just rights of all; to remove, forever, if possible, the causes of collision and war.

What would such arrangements be? May a man, not a politician; not a statesman; devoted from early years to other pursuits; having no claims to be heard beyond that small circle whom his

official position entitles him to address, or whose ear he may have gained by a life spent in the honest desire to do good to mankind; yet a man who, in humble imitation of the great statesman, would desire that "when his eyes shall be turned to behold, for the last time, the sun in heaven, he may not see him shining on the broken and dishonored fragments of a once glorious Union; on States dis-severed, discordant, belligerent; on a land rent with civil feuds, or drenched in fraternal blood"—may such a man, in his place, suggest what would seem to him to be demanded as the conditions and terms of abiding peace?

The first great principle in the return of peace, must be the suppression of this rebellion as rebellion. It must be founded on the laying down of hostile arms by those who have made war on the flag of the nation; the restoration of forts and arsenals, and public property, seized by force or fraud; the recognition of the laws of the Union; the abandonment of the whole principle in regard to the right of Secession. In all cases of rebellion, there must be a submission to just authority before there can be proposals and conditions of peace. God treats with men in rebellion only when they submit to authority and law; and a government that recognizes a conspiracy and a rebellion, and which treats with it as such, is already at an end. The throne of God would have long since crumbled to atoms, and the universe would have long since been chaotic and anarchical, if any other principle had been recognized in the divine administration than that of submission to the just and equal laws of heaven. The welfare of the nation; its name, its power, its credit, its influence, and the happiness of innumerable millions on this continent, all demand that this great principle shall be settled now and forever, that there is a "GOVERNMENT" here; that it is a government in the highest sense of the term; that under that government, and in its proper operation, it has power to enforce its own laws, and to extend its control, under constitutional limits, all over the land. The immediate question now is, whether that can be done; the solution of that question is to determine the destiny of this nation for all coming time. The duty now, the immediate duty, the sole duty, is to suppress this rebellion, and to establish the authority of law; to maintain the Union. That, and that only, is the purpose of the war. That, and that only, makes the war right. That, and that only, will make its issues safe. Any thing else—even any scheme of benevolence; any measure based on the intrinsic wrong of slavery; any thing that contemplates the amelioration of the condition of any portion of the population; any act of justice to the oppressed and the wronged as such; any redressing of old grievances, or any rendering of tardy justice long delayed; any proposed amendments of the Constitution as a basis or a promised pledge, valuable as they might be in themselves, and incidental as they may be in

the prosecution of the war, would be aside from its design; would be a violation of the Constitution—would properly subject an Executive to impeachment. There is one object before the nation now, and but one: those rebellious men must be beaten on the battle-field; those forts and arsenals must be restored; those custom-houses must be put again under the control of the nation; those armies must be dispersed; those new laws, which are not laws, of the "Confederacy," must be abrogated; the honored old flag must float again over every part of the land, before there can be permanent peace. "No other measure than this will preserve the integrity, the dignity, and the glory of this government. No other measure will prove to the world that we are what we profess to be—A NATION. No other will settle this controversy on a lasting basis." Failing here, we fail altogether, and the cherished hopes of our fathers will have vanished forever; and the exultation of those who, beyond the seas, hate liberty, and us as the representatives of liberty, will be complete.

The second thing is the preservation of the Union. Men talk traitorously when they speak with complacency of the breaking up of this Union. The old thirteen States, under the articles of the Confederation, and before the Federal Union was formed, found themselves unable to carry on the operations of a government. They had no government, no army, no navy, no credit, no power. The Southern Confederacy would have no power now were it not for the pressure of the war which keeps them together. It is the Union which has made us, and which has kept us. We must be one great nation, or twenty or more divided and separate and jarring, feeble powers. We must be one in respect to war and peace and commerce and trade and credit; we must be one in view of ourselves, one in view of the world. Besides, who would be authorized to propose peace on any other terms or conditions than the preservation of the Union? Who has been chosen by the people for any such purpose? Who, under the Constitution, has any such authority? Within the proper limits of whose oath of office would it come that he should propose or listen to a separation of this Union? What officer in the nation could do this without an usurpation of power never conceded to him, and fatal to liberty?

The third thing essential to permanent peace must be the entire suppression of the slave-trade. Whatever may be true in regard to the moral character of the traffic, it is clear, that in this age of the world, and in the condition of the public opinion in the great mass of the people of this nation, peace and harmony could not exist if this traffic were reopened and continued in any part of the nation. The intrinsic wrong of the traffic, as it appears to one part of the nation, bringing the power of conscience against it, and the supposed interest of the other part of the nation, urging its

continuance, must produce a renewal of the conflict, and to secure permanent peace, it must be in fact abandoned forever. This has been, is, and must be, the settled purpose of the nation before the world. This was the settled purpose of those who framed the Constitution when they incorporated a provision that this should not be done before a certain period—the year 1808—implying that it might be done, and should be done then; this is the avowed principle, whether sincere or otherwise, of the so-called “Confederacy;” this is now the settled purpose of the Government of the United States, declared not only in laws, but in the execution of a guilty man engaged in that horrid traffic. And this must be. The age demands it. Humanity demands it. The Bible demands it. The best interests of the nation demand it. Our standing among the nations of the earth requires it. The common character of the nation; the common welfare of the community; justice, mercy, religion, all demand that human flesh, among all nations, shall be separated from all those things which pertain to lawful commerce, and the traffic in it branded as the worst form of piracy. As the world would be shocked, and the nations would feel that they had a right to interfere, should either France or England or Portugal or Spain engage in piracy, or countenance or protect it by law; so, with equal right, might the nations of the earth interfere should any one of those engage in the slave-trade. The prohibition of this traffic could not, therefore, be complained of in any part of our country as a sectional and partial and unequal arrangement, for it lies back of any sectional and local bearing, as that which pertains to justice, to morality, to humanity, to every ground of a claim to a name and place among the nations of the earth. There are eternal principles of right, and they are becoming incorporated, slowly it may be, but certainly, into the code of the laws which are to regulate nations; and as it would not be partial, sectional, or unjust, if a portion of Northern citizens should desire to engage in acts of piracy, and should regard it as for their interest to be permitted to fit out piratical vessels from their ports, if they were prohibited by national laws on the ground of justice, humanity, the law of God, and the common good, so it is not, and would not be a sectional act, or a partial act, to prohibit the slave-trade to each and every part of the nation. For any new adjustment of the Constitution this should be adopted as a settled principle, proclaiming now before the world, not only that Congress may pass laws prohibiting the traffic in human flesh, but that the trade shall be forever abolished, and that no laws favoring it shall ever be enacted in the United States.

A fourth thing—now shown, by the terrible war into which we are plunged, to be essential to permanent peace, and demanded alike by the best interests of the North and the South, and by every principle of just government—is the entire separation of the

General Government from slavery. This, I regard, as THE great principle necessary in the restoration of peace; the great principle on which the Constitution, if ever amended, is to be amended, and on which, if ever, the liberties of our country are to be preserved. Except in the matter just referred to, of prohibiting the slave-trade, the principle should be made universal that the General Government should have no relation to slavery; should in no wise protect it; should in no manner interfere with it to abolish it; should derive no benefit from it; should lend it no support; should in all respects, and at all times, stand wholly aloof from it. The South demands this in words, at least; the North should yield it; the nation—the world—humanity—justice—national honor—religion—should insist on it forever.

The great evil in this nation, the source of all our national woes, consisted in incorporating with the Constitution any provisions whatever, save in the matter pertaining to the slave-trade, in relation to slavery. This principle, in my judgment, is so important—so vital to permanent peace; so demanded by every sentiment of national honor and justice, that I may be permitted to dwell on it for a moment.

There are three provisions now in the Constitution expressed or assumed, on this subject, which lie at the foundation of all our difficulties; which are unjust to the North and to the South; which are in violation of all the principles of humanity—of what is due to man as man; which are the source of endless contentions and strifes; which originated this dreadful war; which go far to explain the anomalous and strange position of foreign nations towards us—provisions which stir up all that there is of interest on the one side, of conscience on the other, and of hatred in both, and which bring us as a nation into constant collision with the law, the government, and the providence of God.

Those provisions are: 1. That slaves, considered mainly as property, shall constitute a basis of representation in Congress, in the proportion of three fifths of their number; 2. That the power of the General Government shall be employed in restoring fugitives from slavery; and, 3. That Congress has the power and the right to prohibit slavery in the Territories of the nation. This latter is an implied or assumed claim. A remark or two on each of these, will explain more particularly what I mean.

1. For the first of these: That the African race, held in slavery, shall be represented in Congress in the proportion of three fifths of their number. This is not, indeed, a direct representation of the African race themselves, for in the Constitution they are not so far regarded as persons as to have the rights of citizens, and of course any right to be represented in Congress. The representation is based on the idea of property; to wit, that they are property, and that as property, there may be an additional representa-

tion in Congress from the slave States.* This was one of the "compromises" of the Constitution, and the essential idea was, that, in order to secure something like a just balance between the North and the South, persons only should be the basis of representation in the North; persons and property, to wit, property in slaves, should be the basis of representation in the South.† This, according to the ratio of representation now in Congress, would give to the South, on the basis of property about twenty additional members in Congress. If the property idea, so unjust, were laid out of view; if those of African descent at the South were treated as they are at the North, and as on every just principle they should be; if the same principle were adopted in the slave States as in the free States, that, in the words of the Constitution, "Representatives shall be apportioned among the several States which may be included in this Union, according to their respective numbers;" if all who are held in slavery were treated in this respect as persons and not as property, then the South would be entitled to an additional representation in Congress, in proportion to the two fifths of all who are now held in bondage, and in no way represented in Congress. On every principle of justice and equity this should be done, and this is undoubtedly a case, and so far as I can see, the only case in which a palpable wrong has been done to the South in the Constitution. Of this, however, they have not complained, and could not complain, without renouncing what they regard as essential in their institution, the right of property in men.

2. The second of the provisions in the Constitution in regard to the relation of the General Government to slavery, to which I have referred, is that by which fugitives from slavery are to be restored to their masters. The article in itself, as originally adopted, and as it stands in the Constitution, is merely that "No person held to service or labor in one State under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regu-

* "It is only under the pretext that the laws have transformed the negroes into subjects of property, that a place is assigned them in the computation of numbers; and it is admitted, that if the laws were to restore the rights which have been taken away, the negroes could no longer be refused an equal share of representation with the other inhabitants."—Mr. Madison in the *Federalist*, No. LIV.

† "In settling the ratio of representation, another difficulty arose respecting the slaves, who form so large a portion of the inhabitants of some of the States. To compute them among the number represented, would be giving them an importance to which their character did not entitle them; . . . to omit them altogether in the computation, would be to reduce the influence of the Southern States, in a manner to which they would never consent. As a medium between these, it was agreed that five slaves should be accounted as three citizens, in arranging the representation, and the apportionment computed accordingly. To counterbalance, in some degree, this concession to the Southern States, direct taxes are to be apportioned by the same rule as representation; so that the same cause which increases their influence in the national Legislature, subjects them to the necessity of making larger contributions to the national treasury, when that mode of taxation is resorted to."—*Bayard on the Constitution of the United States*, pp. 49, 50.

lation therein, be discharged from such service or labor; but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor is due"—that is, that their return or restoration shall not be prevented or hindered by any laws in the respective States on the subject; or, in other words, that the masters shall have the power and the right to reclaim them, without any interference on the part of another State to prevent it; of course always implying that the claim shall be fairly made out. This simple provision, bad enough in itself, has been perverted and abused by being made the foundation of the most odious and iniquitous law perhaps ever enacted in any Christian country, by which the whole power of the General Government is pledged to the return of such fugitives; by which it is made the duty of every man to render aid in such a return; by which fine and imprisonment may be the penalty in any case of refusing to render such aid, or for assisting a fellow-man to escape from bondage, and to become a freeman—that is, for refusing, in a Christian country, to violate what he may conscientiously believe to be an explicit law of God on the subject: "Thou shalt not deliver unto his master the servant which is escaped from his master unto thee."* This law has been, indeed, pronounced on high authority—the highest in the land—to be constitutional; that is, not in fact a violation of the Constitution, but still, it has never been shown that a milder law embracing all that was fairly implied in the constitutional provision, would not also be constitutional; in other words, that a law might not have been so framed that, while it maintained all that is required by the letter of the Constitution, it would not have required free citizens to do what would be a violation of their consciences, a law which would have been less palpably a violation of the law of God. More than any other one enactment—more than any other one cause—this law, in the form in which it exists, has been the cause of the alienation of the North from the South.

3. The other form of jurisdiction of the General Government on the subject of slavery, is the power claimed for Congress, and exercised by Congress, of excluding slavery by law from the Territories of the nation. This power, not expressly granted in the Constitution, and not necessarily implied in the general provision that, "The Congress shall have power to dispose of, and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the Territory or other property belonging to the United States," (Art. IV. Section iii. 2,) has been claimed at the North; has been denied at the South; was exercised by Congress, with scarcely a dissenting voice, in the case of the Territory North-West of the Ohio ceded by Virginia; was implied in the Missouri compromise; and was among the immediate causes of the trouble which led to this unhappy war. And

* Deut. 23 : 15. So, also, Isa. 56 : 4 : "Let mine outcasts dwell with thee; be thou a covert to them from the face of the spoiler."

yet, notwithstanding all these acts and decisions of so high authority, it may yet appear that it is a power which Congress never had; which it was never contemplated that it should have under the Constitution; and which is fundamentally erroneous in regard to all just principles of legislation. The power to prohibit slavery may imply the power to ordain or establish it; and if Congress has this power in one respect, it would be difficult to show why it has it not in the other. Slavery is, in all cases, the mere creation of the laws: the laws of war; the laws of rapine; the laws of crime; the laws of complexion or race—or laws founded on those things. It does not exist by nature. It is not founded on any natural rights. It does not go anywhere by any natural right, or by any natural law. It is always the creation of law—of local or municipal law; and in all places where it is not ordained, or made such by law, MAN IS AND SHOULD BE FREE. Such are now understood to be settled and admitted principles; and as in the "Territories" Congress alone has power to make laws, or to "legislate," and as Congress has no power to make men slaves, or to institute slavery, so it follows that all the inhabitants of the Territories are free as long as they remain Territories; free, that is, until the people acting for themselves shall ordain otherwise. The right to prohibit slavery must go with the power to enact or ordain it; and Congress has neither. It is for the people alone to determine this; but whether when so determined any new State shall be admitted into the Union is another question. If so admitted, the matter is and should be with them alone.

These are the provisions in the Constitution, expressed or implied; provisions claimed, denied, perverted, abused, which have been the source of all our national woes.

But what is the effect of these provisions in the Constitution? What is there that should make it desirable that they should be changed?

The first of these questions now claims attention. The other will be answered in the other specifications which I have yet to suggest.

The effects are obvious:—the evils are palpable, at home; abroad.

AT HOME. Recognizing, as the Constitution is supposed to do, the right of the General Government to interfere in the matter at all; the fact that slavery as property is represented in the General Government; the right and the duty of the General Government to employ its power, civil, military, and naval, if necessary, in restoring fugitive slaves; the right of the General Government to legislate on the subject of slavery in the Territories, the effects are obvious. The Constitution seems to be the defender of slavery. The South is clamorous for the interposition of that power in its behalf. It is jealous, and properly so, of any measures that would

divide, abridge, or diminish the exercise of the power of the General Government in defending, extending, and perpetuating the Institution. It claims, and fairly too, that the power of the nation, as expressly prescribed, shall be exerted to the full extent conceded in the Constitution; it demands that all that is vague and undefined shall be determined in a manner not against the interests of the Slave Power.

The North, too, feels, and justly, that under this arrangement of the Constitution, it has interests and responsibilities of a most grave and momentous character in the matter. It is not so much the interest of the tariff, of commerce, and of manufactures—of cotton, tobacco, and sugar—it is the interest springing from conscience and from national responsibility. Just so far as the subject pertains to the National Government, and just so far as the North constitutes a part of the nation, so far, under the Constitution, the North has an interest in it; so far it has a right to discuss it; so far it has a right to prevent any aggressions which the slave power might make; so far it has a right, in common with the other portions of the country, to deal with it, under the limits of the Constitution, as it has to deal with the army and the navy—with the public lands, the postal arrangements, and the Customs. It is not a meddlesome interference with "domestic" institutions; with what does not pertain to us, when, as far as it is recognized and sustained by the National Government, it becomes a subject for examination and discussion. We interfere with no man's rights; we invade no man's prerogatives; we do nothing in violation of any rights of States, when, as long, and as far as it is a National Institution, or is sustained by the National Government, we examine freely the whole subject of slavery. And so long as the arrangement exists; so long as it is incorporated into the National Constitution, there will be two great parties—the one uniting with the South, and from pretended or real love of the Constitution, or of the love of power, urging the demands of slavery; the other based on opposition to the idea that the National Government is to be governed by slavery, to submit to its control and demands, to extend it, or to do anything to perpetuate it—a party always necessarily advancing toward the idea that the National Government has the power to abolish it, and should do it. To a large part of a free people also, and especially a people in any degree under the dominion of conscience, it is a source of constant irritation that by a fair interpretation of their own acts in legislation, and by arrangements which are claimed to exist in the very Constitution, they are compelled to approve of measures which go to sustain an institution which they regard as a direct violation of all the principles of humanity, and of the law of God.

ABROAD. It is not to be wondered at that our institutions have never been well understood abroad. To say nothing of a very

prevailing ignorance in the older nations of Europe on all subjects, these institutions are, in some respects, so complicated; they seem, in the relations of the General Government and the several States, to come so much into collision; they are so unlike all which exists in the Old World, that we are not to wonder at the fact that they are not understood. Especially is this true in regard to slavery. That many of the people of foreign lands have great pleasure in maligning and misrepresenting us, and in hailing any indication of the downfall of the Republic, is undoubtedly true; and that much that is said on our position now, and much of the sympathy shown for the South, by those who have claimed to be preëminently the friends of liberty and the enemies of slavery, proceeds from this cause, no one will venture to deny.

But there are honest minds abroad, and there may be minds there not inimical to our country, and which are in fact drawn toward us by the strong ties of consanguinity and religion, which are filled with deep perplexity on the subject, and with the deeper perplexity because they are opposed to slavery, and because they sincerely desire to see the great principles of the British Constitution as expounded by Lord Mansfield, and as acted out in the emancipation secured by Clarkson and Wilberforce, extended over the world. On the one hand they see, or think they see, that the Constitution of this country is pledged to the support of slavery; they see that slavery is recognized in the representation in Congress; they see such protection in the Fugitive Slave Law; they think they see it in the Dred Scott Decision; they see it, or think they see it, even in the President's Proclamation; they see it, or think they see it, in the purposes of one of the great political parties of the nation now rising again into power; and they think they see that the triumph of the national arms—the suppression of the Rebellion—the restoration of the Union as it was, will carry with it all those arrangements by which the power of the nation was pledged to the defense of the institution. On the other hand, they think they see in the success of the confederate government, as circumstances must and will exist, the prospect of the speedy destruction of the system. Well as they know—for they can not but know—the avowed principle on which that Confederacy is founded—slavery—avowed slavery—yet they see, or think they see, that, hemmed in as it would be; surrounded on every side by free States; with no power to reclaim fugitive slaves; with a border of some two thousand miles with nothing but imaginary lines, or creeks and rivers easily crossed, there could be no security for slavery; that the value of a slave on that border would soon diminish to nothing; that there is no such attachment to slavery among slaves themselves as to keep them from availing themselves of the facilities of freedom; and that slavery must, therefore, soon come to an end. On the one hand, they see, or think they see,

nothing but that which aims at its perpetuity ; on the other, while they see that it is the avowed purpose to sustain it, they imagine that they see that which in the nature of things must at no distant period lead to its abolition.* I confess that it seems to me that an intelligent foreigner—a true friend of human freedom—might be much perplexed on this subject ; and that, with all that is justly to be said and lamented in regard to the bad spirit manifested abroad, it is possible for a true lover of our country, in its best interests, to look inquiringly, if not favorably, on the efforts of the Southern Confederacy, because he might suppose that he saw in that the only hope of the speedy removal of that great curse from our land, and from the world.

However this may be, and however the expression of this thought as coming from this pulpit may be received and regarded, yet there is—there can be no doubt of the fact that the complicity of the National Government with slavery may be, and is, one great cause among good men abroad of the want of sympathy in the efforts of the National Government to put down this dreadful rebellion. We shall stand upright before the world ; we shall meet the demands of human nature in this age ; we shall secure the entire sympathy of the lovers of freedom every where ; I may say that we shall secure the perfect sympathy towards us of Russia, France, Germany, England, Scotland, Ireland, Italy too—yea, Austria it may be, only when with the clear note of freedom, with a manly and distinct tone, with an unambiguous utterance of the national conviction, and not as a mere military necessity, we shall repeat again before the world our solemn declaration, that “all men are created equal ; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights ; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.”—when we shall proclaim that the National Government is separated from slavery ; that slavery is not represented in it as property ; that the civil tribunals of the nation, its marshals, its military and naval forces, are not to be employed in arresting fugitives from bondage ; that citizens, free themselves, are not to be subjected to imprisonment or fines for declining to aid in returning human beings, guiltless of crime, to chains ; when we shall announce to mankind, with no uncertain sound, our belief as a nation that “God has made of one blood all nations of men to dwell on all the face of the earth ;” that all

* “We would ask what has maintained, unmitigated, the horrors of slavery in spite of the public opinion of the world ? The protection of the North.”—*Edinburgh Review* October, 1862, pp. 281, 282.

“We are convinced that the chances of mitigating and abolishing slavery in the Southern States will, if those States succeed in establishing themselves as a separate federation, be greater than such chances are if their conquest is effected by the arms of the North.”—*Ibid.* p. 284.

“We can not desire to see the Union reestablished as a mighty power for maintaining slavery as one of its institutions within, and protecting it against all the nations of the world without.”—*Ibid.* p. 285.

have been redeemed by the same sacrifice on the cross; that every human being who has no other crime than that of 'having a skin not colored like that of other men' is entitled to liberty.

A fifth principle demanded by justice, and necessary for the permanent peace of the nation, is, that representation in the National Government shall be uniformly at the North and the South on the basis of population and not of property. It is now wholly so at the North; it is partly so at the South. At the North, all, of all colors and conditions, except "Indians not taxed," constitute the basis in the apportionment of members in Congress. At the South, as we have seen, all white persons, and three fifths of all held as slaves, are the basis. Those three fifths, moreover, are represented not as persons, but as property. Two fifths of the four millions of the inhabitants of the South who are held in servitude, enter in no form into the idea of representation, and contribute in no way to constitute a Congress of the nation.

Ours is a Representative Government. But what is that? It is based on human beings—on persons; not on things—on chattels—on cattle. The essential idea in all just notions of representation is, that where in all the limits of the territory under the government there is a human being, or one who has by nature the rights of a man, and who in any way contributes to constitute the nation as such, in its existence or greatness, there shall be a suitable recognition of that fact in the representation in the government; and that, in this respect, as he has by nature the rights of a man, and as his life, liberty, and property may be affected by the government, he shall be regarded and treated as a human being, as part and parcel of the great confederation.

As matters are now, gross injustice is done to every part of the nation; gross injustice to ourselves in the eyes of the world. The North proclaims the principle in relation to their Southern brethren—a principle not recognized among themselves—that property may be in part the basis of representation, and they concede to Southern slaveholders what they claim, that their slaves shall be regarded as property, and this odious principle the nation proclaims abroad to the whole world: the North, thus, with all its zeal for freedom; with all its professed abhorrence of slavery; with all its deep conviction that the African is a man like other men, yet declaring its willingness that the only representation which there shall be of a human being when a slave—the only recognition of him in the halls of legislation, shall be as "property"—as property and nothing else. Meantime, by a compromise unjust in principle, and inadequate in its influence, the North has been all the while deriving an undue advantage from this arrangement. In order to counterbalance the "concession to the Southern States" that their slaves might be represented in the proportion of three fifths of their number as prop-

erty, it was among the unhappy "compromises" of the Constitution, that "direct taxes should be apportioned by the same rule as representation." And as the Confederation in 1783 had made it a rule in taxation that the direct taxes should be apportioned on the principle that three fifths of the slave population was to be reckoned, it was deemed just that the same principle should be adopted in settling the number of representatives.* But since direct taxes under our government occur at very distant intervals, and since the representation in Congress is constant, the North has been all the while reaping this advantage over the South, paying little in the way of the compensation, and yet constantly enjoying the advantage in Congress derived from the imperfect and unequal representation in the South.

In the mean time, the South has been suffering this wrong—that, as now constituted, two fifths of the population, that is, of what are now four millions of its population, have been without any representation: in other words, under the ratio of representation, there has been a loss to them of ten, fifteen or twenty members of Congress.

The true principle of representation would be, undoubtedly, that no human beings should be represented as property; that the apportionment should be in accordance to the entire population as reported by the census-tables; that whatever may be the domestic relations of such persons, or whatever their condition, as sick or well, old or young, ignorant or learned, male or female, bond or free, white, copper-colored, black or semi-black, their existence as human beings—as a part of the nation—as having rights and interests as human beings to be protected—should be recognized in the government under which they live. In the carrying out of this principle, it is, of course, not necessary that all should be eligible to office, nor that all should vote; not that children, or slaves, or Indians, should be admitted as law-makers of the land. At the North the people regulate this in their own way: so let them do at the South. As at the North we do not choose that all persons shall be voters; and as we make distinctions—some of them arbitrary and unjust—yet all within our power—so let them do at the South. If they do not choose that the slaves shall vote, let it be so—let them treat them as we treat the colored population of the North; but in the name of humanity and of God, let them not be treated as chattels and things by an odious principle; in the name of justice and of equity, let not the North derive an advantage from an arrangement founded on a principle which the people of the North no where else recognize—the right of property in man; in the name of justice too and equal rights, let the South be entitled to all the representation which she could claim based on the Census—on the actual numbers of

* *Curtis's History of the Constitution.* Vol. ii. pp. 48, 160.

human beings—men, women, and children within the limits of the respective States.

A sixth thing:—The ultimate entire removal of slavery from our land is essential to permanent peace. Our history, under the Confederation, and now for eighty years under the Constitution, has shown that slavery has been, and is, almost the only cause of alienation between the North and the South, and that but for this there never has been any insuperable reason why the North and the South should not live and act in harmony. Indeed, on the entire surface of the globe there is no one country of such an extent, or of any very considerable extent, where there are so many causes for unity; so few for division. Of one language; one religion; one origin; one general character;—united by vast rivers, and by the advantages which each derives from the peculiar productions of the other; united in their history, and by all the sacred recollections of the remembered war of Independence, there is every reason, in the nature of the case, why we should be one. Our fathers felt this; and hence our glorious Constitution was formed, and we should have been now with nothing necessarily producing alienation, collision, or war, had it not been for slavery. But the same causes which have now produced collision on this subject will produce it again; nor will it ever be possible to adjust our free institutions to the idea that slavery is to be perpetual in the land. That fact is now established; it can not be denied. The South knows it; the North affirms it; the world sees it. All attempts, therefore, to secure permanent peace except on the assumption that slavery is somehow to cease ultimately in the land, have been demonstrated by our past history to be vain.

Yet it is clear that in securing this result, every thing must depend on the mode in which it is done—if ever done. It can not be secured by a mere exertion of power; by an act from any quarter declaring all the slaves at once free. Such a power is not given to any individual, or to any body of men under the Constitution, and however that power may be believed, in a state of war, to be "a military necessity," yet even this could extend only to those parts of the country actually in a state of insurrection, and could have no applicability to the portions of the nation that could by any fair construction be regarded as loyal. As a civil act; as an act pertaining to the General Government, Congress has no such power; the Executive has no such power; the third branch of the government—the Supreme Court—has no such power. Most foreigners, and especially those in the land from which we have derived our origin, and in a great measure our notions of liberty and government,* ignorantly, strangely, willfully fail to comprehend our Constitution on this subject; and they

* They understand us much better in France.

persevere in a determination not to be instructed. England, regarding her constitution as the perfection and sum of all wisdom, can never be made to understand why or how there should be a Government without "King, Lords, and Commons;" or how there can be a Union of States which is not exactly like the union of the counties of Durham, York, and Lancaster; or like England and Wales; or on some such principle as that which unites Scotland and Ireland to the crown, or how there can be possibly in another land a legislative body that is not formed after the exact "pattern" of the British Parliament. Hence thus far in eighty years we have never been able so to instruct them that they will see that an American Congress has not the same power over slavery in the States which the British Parliament has over a poor-house in the counties of Cornwall or Kent, or as the same Parliament had over slavery in the British West-Indies. They will not yet understand that no authority whatever in regard to the direct emancipation of slaves has been given to the General Government of our nation; and it is, perhaps, now too late to hope that they ever will understand this. At home this is understood; and it is, therefore, understood that any attempt to emancipate the slaves in this country by a mere act of the General Government would be an usurpation of power never conceded, and equally at the North and the South would destroy all hope of an adjustment of our difficulties. Besides, if this power were possessed by the General Government, and should be exercised by it, no pen could describe the evils which would follow from the immediate emancipation of four millions of people held in slavery; a people unused to freedom; most of whom are unable to read; a people unaccustomed to provide for themselves; having none of that economy which springs from the effort at self-support and the support of families; restrained now and habitually mainly by terror and authority, and not by conscience; and with all the remembered wrongs committed against them and their fathers. Such an act of immediate emancipation would, in all human probability, deluge the land in blood, and wrap it in flames. On the other hand, no tongue could describe the blessings which might flow from a wise system of gradual emancipation: where the end was distinctly contemplated, at no remote period, and where a system of training preparatory to it should be at once entered on, fitting those millions for freedom. Such an act would stand forth to the world as among the noblest of human achievements—greater than the deliverance of the children of Israel from Egyptian bondage; greater than the achievement of the independence of our country—for the numbers are larger than in either of these cases, and the wisdom and the power needful would not be less than in either.

But the act of emancipation, if it occurs, should be an act in

which the nation, as such, should, in every part, while claiming no right of direct legislation, bear its share of the burden. Slavery has been, to a certain extent, national. The disgrace has been national. The wrong has been national—so far as the Constitution has protected it; and, so far as ships fitted out in Northern ports, and merchants in Northern cities, have been enriched by the traffic in human sinews, it has been national. Bristol and Newport in Rhode Island, Boston, New-York, Philadelphia, have had their share in the profits of the slave-trade. Splendid abodes now stand in Bristol and Newport whose foundations were laid in blood, and whose walls were reared as the result of the slave-trade. Wall street would never have been what it now is, and New-York might not as yet have traveled far beyond Canal street, if it had not been that Whitney—a Northern man—gave cotton to the world, and if the South had not been willing that, on certain well-understood terms, their money affairs should be in the hands of the merchants and brokers of New-York. Whatever there has been, in fact, as the result of slave labor, has gone, among other things, directly or indirectly to promote our growth as a nation; and whatever there is of power in this country now to affect the manufactures, the trade, the commerce of the old world has had a connection of melancholy importance with slavery. At this moment, England, France, and Germany throughout all her borders; the manufactures and the trade not only in Lancashire, but through the countries where the Elbe, the Rhine, and the Danube flow, all feel the effect of the want of that which is the result of slave-labor—cotton:—and all begin to learn a lesson which they have been slow to learn, and which it would be well for them to learn in other respects than this—how greatly they are dependent on the United States; how important is the position which the United States holds in the world; how vital it may be for them to cultivate friendly relations with us.

As in some measure, therefore, a national matter; as that which has contributed to the greatness of the nation, and which has gone materially to enrich it, it is but just that when so vital a change is contemplated as the ultimate emancipation of four millions of men, every part of the nation should bear its share of the burden; every part of the nation should help to undo the wrong. Compensation, therefore, in accordance with some equitable rule to those States and individuals which would be immediately affected by it, is demanded by every principle of justice; by every thing in our nature which responds to the claim of what is reciprocal and right. It is not, indeed, as a matter of property; it need not recognize the right of property in human beings. The claim is founded rather on a principle of equity, as springing from the fact that when, from any revolution in a nation's opinions and policy, a material change is to be produced in that which men have

regarded as contributing to their prosperity, and of which the nation has been in any way a participant, every part of the nation, enriched by that which is to be of value no more, should bear its part of the loss and the burden. This may not be a legal claim. It may not be a claim which we place under the head of strict justice or right. But it is a claim which appeals to noble minds, and noble hearts—that where there has been a common wrong, and when there is now to be a suffering party, that party should not be left to suffer alone. It is, therefore, on the strictest principles of moral equity that it has been proposed by the highest authority of this nation, that there shall be a fair system of compensation proposed for the States which are willing to inaugurate a system of gradual emancipation.

Nor will it be a "compromise" with slavery, nor an acknowledgment that slavery is in itself right, if the system proposed should be gradual. Provided that the end is contemplated; that the thing is to be done; that arrangements are made to do it, and to do it certainly; that there is no further defense of it, and no further arrangements to perpetuate and extend it; that the announcement goes forth to the world that it is the purpose of the nation that slavery shall cease, there can be no fair construction of such an act by which it can be inferred that the system is regarded as right. In such an act there would be no mercenary apology for slavery; nay, the purest benevolence may mingle in the act, though it is delayed, for the highest interest of the enslaved himself may demand that delay. New-York, New-Jersey, Pennsylvania, uttered no voice in favor of slavery, and made no compromise with it, when they inaugurated a system of gradual emancipation, and the deeply-rooted feeling of those States on the subject is proof that there was no lingering love of the system in the legislation which prompted to those acts.

Nor is it needful to any just views of emancipation that the freed-men under such a system, or under any system, should be expatriated, or removed by power to other lands. This is their native land, and they love it. The four millions of slaves in our country, excepting the few scores that may have been smuggled in contrary to the laws, were born here, and have as good a right here as any others, for the "boundaries of their habitation" have been fixed here by the great God. Beyond most other men, too, the African loves his native soil. He has no disposition to leave the place where he has been reared, and where he has toiled—even for others; or even to leave those for whom he has toiled, if he is not treated with harshness and cruelty. In all that vast territory where the African has been compelled to toil, he would be a useful and a needed laborer—not less useful, and not less needed, if, as a freeman, trained to freedom, he should be compensated as other men are for his labor. Free labor in an African would be

of more value to a country than slave labor, and on the vast cotton-fields and rice-plantations of the South it may always be true that the African can perform a work which the white man could not endure. There, as freemen, let them live and labor, enjoying the avails of their labor as other men do; represented in the National Government as a part of the population of the land; recognized and treated as made in the image of God. If they prefer, as freemen, to return to the land of their fathers' sepulchers, let us help them. To other lands now barbarous and savage, not driven there, not compelled to go, they might bear, as they would bear, juster notions of industry, and thrift, and liberty, and religion than now prevail there; and colonies voluntarily formed, and sustained by those who have oppressed them, might be the means of establishing there the institutions of civilization, religion, and the arts. Africa, blessed by the voluntary return of her sons, may yet forget the wrongs that have been done to her, and slavery may yet be numbered among the evils that have been overruled by divine Providence for the good of mankind.

A sixth principle, founded on such views as have now been presented, and claimed, it seems to me, with exact justice by the South, is, that slavery, as to its control, and as to all the laws regulating it, is to be left to the States as such, in all respects, absolutely and exclusively.

It is a settled principle in all just laws, now admitted every where, as already remarked, that slavery is only a creation of law; that it is not a condition of nature; and that where there is no law to make a man a slave, he is free. If it be by the laws of war, if it be by the laws of debt, if it be by laws pertaining to crime, then those laws, and those alone, define the existence, the locality, and the extent of the bondage or servitude of man. Just or unjust, then, the regulation is a municipal regulation, and the institution is a "domestic" institution, and as such it should be left to the States themselves. Like other local matters—things of domestic concern—it should be limited there, and when those bounds over which those domestic laws extend are passed, then any human being should breathe the air which other men breathe. Men at the South have claimed that we have no right to interfere with their institution. As far as they and we have made them a national concern, we have such a right, for so far it pertains to us as it does to them. But let it be so; let it be as they desire; let slavery be a local institution; let it be like other domestic arrangements; let it be wholly detached from all connection with the General Government; let all laws in relation to it outside of the respective States where it exists cease, and cease forever. Beyond that right which all men have to spread abroad light and truth; to diffuse their sentiments as they may; to publish books, to preach the Gospel, to persuade men to do what is right, and to

avoid what is wrong, let there be no asserted right of interference; let there be no interference. Let it be placed on the same footing in this respect, as other matters that relate to the interests of the people of the land. It is rare that any of our interests, of persons, property, liberty, reputation, come in direct contact with the General Government. The ordinary course of affairs in which all are interested, is through the State considered in this respect as sovereign. "It is to the State government that a man looks to protect his property, and secure his personal safety. It is the State government which makes the laws that affect all his daily transactions, and it is the tribunals of the State government which decide all the ordinary questions arising between man and man." Thus let slavery be. This is no unholy compromise of truth; it is no compromise at all, farther than when we seek to spread truth and learning, liberty and religion, in Turkey, or India, or Burmah, or China, or Italy by the Gospel, we go under an implied pledge not to attempt a direct interference with the laws—the local laws of these lands.

One other principle, as following from these views, remains to be stated. It is, that the entire subject of restoring fugitive slaves should be a matter of negotiation and arrangement between the States themselves. If as States independent in such matters, as in other local matters, they can enter into such negotiations and arrangements, well; if not, let not the power of the General Government be prostituted and profaned in the work of arresting men who pant for freedom; let not its judges "pollute the purity of the ermine" by remanding freemen to bondage; let not the army of the nation be employed to force their return at the point of the bayonet. Let no conscientious and peaceful citizen be required to engage, under severe pains and penalties, in reducing men and women to slavery. Let not the Government of the United States continue to place itself in this false position before the world, the only free government on earth, and yet the only government in all the nations that binds itself to do such a deed.

As the South claim that this is an institution of their own with which we have no right to intermeddle, let it be so. Let us not volunteer to interfere. If they can make an arrangement with Border States, equally independent in such subjects, an arrangement for their reciprocal good, well; if not, let that be an end of the matter. If such States acquiesce in this; if they deem it just to others, or best for themselves, let them do it in their own way, and on their own responsibility, and let the fugitive-slave law be blotted from the statute-book of the nation forever and ever.

I know that I have been too long in this service; but neither you nor I will ever attend a Thanksgiving-service in such cir-

circumstances again. I have seldom, if ever, in my life, spoken with so much diffidence or distrust, in regard to the sentiments which I have felt it my duty to advance. That these sentiments will be regarded as practically wise by any considerable portion of those whom I have addressed, or adopted by the country, I am not sanguine in believing. That they are more just in describing the evil, than wise in proposing a remedy, perhaps I should be as readily disposed to grant, as any would to assert. But these things which I will now suggest in a few words, would follow if the nation should ever admit the propriety of these principles; and the prospect, however dim it may now be, that they will occur, should be a cause of thanksgiving, just in proportion as the eye of faith or patriotism can see any evidence that they will occur.

The nation would be one; there would be one flag, one system of laws, one religion; we should be one people.

The occasion for war, so far as it has sprung from slavery, and there has been no other occasion for war in this nation, would cease, and we might hope would cease forever.

The conscience of the North would be relieved, as having no further complicity with slavery, and as being henceforward in no way responsible for it:—conscience, the most troublesome thing in a nation to manage, the most difficult to be subdued.

The rights of the South would be secured—secured in what they regard as their rights; secured in that of which they are deprived—a just and equal representation in Congress; secured as to any invasion from the North on their institutions; secured in what they choose to regard as valuable domestic arrangements; secured in regard to any direct interference with the arrangements which they think proper to cherish.

As a nation, we should so stand before the world as to command the respect and the confidence of mankind. No longer could it be charged upon us that the National Government is the bulwark of slavery; that its legislation is adverse to freedom; that the power of the nation is pledged to perpetuate the system; that it is represented in the national councils; that the Government shocks the moral sentiments of mankind by its enactments, and turns away the sympathies of the friends of liberty every where.

Slavery, too, would come to an end. Surrounded on every side by Free States, its value would diminish every where, and the slave himself, with no disposition, as he has none, to leave the land of his birth, would become more valuable sooner or later by doing the work of a freeman, and by receiving the compensation of freedom. It may as well be known now as ever, it is now known, that slavery can not long subsist in this country when the protection of the National Government is withdrawn from it, and that the hope of its ceasing is in the prospect that this national protection be withdrawn.

This will be a free land, rich, vast, prosperous, happy; a land where some one shall yet declare, in the language of Lord Mansfield, that "the air of America is too pure for a slave to breathe;" a land where every man that treads the soil shall be free.

I have one word more. The best intellect of the nation is yet to be called forth to settle the great principles involved in the present bloody strife. The highest talent of the nation has not been developed as yet in this war; the highest talent of a nation is never developed in war. There slumber yet in this land, some where, great mental powers yet undeveloped; statesmanlike abilities not yet unfolded; principles of lofty patriotism yet to be manifested aside from war; powers of far-reaching diplomacy, which will grasp these great questions, and the issue, in an honorable and perpetual peace, in new arrangements adapted to our country in these times, will place such names ever onward by the side of those of Franklin, and Madison, and Jay, and Hamilton, and Washington.

REV. ALBERT BARNES.

EMBELLISHING this number of THE NATIONAL PREACHER will be found an accurate likeness and finely engraved portrait of the Rev. Albert Barnes, of Philadelphia, who for more than thirty-two years has been the laborious pastor of the First Presbyterian Church in that city. As a man, as a Christian minister, as a preacher of the Gospel, as a voluminous writer and expounder of the text of the sacred Scriptures, and extensively known as such over this country and in foreign lands, a good portrait of him will be highly valued by his very numerous friends. Having known him for many years, we have sought to put on record, in permanent form, an accurate portrait of his face and form. Most of the portraits which we have seen have failed to express the exact lineaments of his features. This engraving has been made with great care from a photograph taken a few months since, and admitted to be the best of all. The artist, Mr. Perine, has improved much upon the photograph, and brought out a full expression, and given it quite a lifelike resemblance to the original. A brief biographical sketch will add interest to the portrait.

Albert Barnes was born in the village of Rome, Oneida county, New-York, December first, 1798. His father was a tanner, and Mr. Barnes remained in his father's family until he was seventeen years of age, employed with his father, while, in the mean time, he laid the basis of a solid education by a diligent application to general reading and study, and the pursuits of literature. At the age of twenty-two years, he graduated at Hamilton College, and in

November, 1820, entered upon his theological studies at Princeton, New-Jersey, where, after a three years' course, he remained one year more as a resident graduate.

In April, 1824, he was licensed to preach the Gospel, and on the twenty-fifth of the following February he was ordained and installed pastor of the Presbyterian Church in Morristown, New-Jersey. He entered upon the work of the ministry as a pastor with untiring zeal and fidelity, and continued his successful labors at Morristown during five years, when, much to the regret of the people of his charge, he received a call to become the pastor of the First Presbyterian Church in Philadelphia, which he accepted, and entered upon the duties of his new field of most responsible labors June 25th, 1830, where he has remained ever since. The ecclesiastical history of Mr. Barnes is, in some respects at least, one of the most interesting and instructive in modern times. But amid most abundant labors among the people of his charge, and untiring diligence in expositions of the Scriptures, he has been a burning and a shining light in the churches of the land. By a systematic disposition of his time, and with clock-like promptitude in the assignment of his varied duties and studies, Mr. Barnes has accomplished an amount of intellectual labor such as few men, if any in this age, have achieved. His life, from his first entrance on the pastorate at Morristown, has been one of great activity and laborious toil. The labor which he has performed—a large part of it in the early morn while other men were asleep—would seem to be enough to crush any constitution but one of iron. We believe the three large volumes of his commentary on the Prophet Isaiah, published in 1838, were chiefly written in early morning, while many were asleep. The same general course of early-morning study was pursued in after-years, which has resulted in the long series of volumes of commentaries on the Old and New Testament Scriptures, which have had for many years an increasing and still wider circulation every year as time moves on. Besides these, Mr. Barnes has published many volumes of essays, reviews, sermons, addresses, etc., of a practical or dogmatic character. His *Village Sermons*, selected and published for practical use, are among the most interesting and instructive of any in the language.

These incessant and arduous labors a few years since seriously impaired his eye-sight, which led him to visit Europe to obtain the best medical advice in that country. Happily his eye-sight has been so far improved that his labors have been continued till now.

His commentaries alone, in some eighteen or twenty volumes, are a monument of untiring industry. They have been extensively republished in England, and to some extent in other languages. They have been used in families, in Sabbath-schools, and Bible-classes, and entered into a wider circulation perhaps than any

series of the kind in this age. More than half a million of these volumes had been printed and sold some years since. The number now can hardly be less than three quarters of a million. To have provided such an amount of sacred reading for such an age as this, is to have exerted an influence on the human mind and destiny rarely paralleled. As a preacher, Mr. Barnes belongs to the first rank of American divines. But he is too well and widely known to need a more extended sketch of his life and labors, which are embodied in his numerous works, and his eminent history as a pastor and preacher.

S E R M O N I I . *

BY REV. EZRA H. GILLETTE,

PASTOR OF THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH, HARLEM, N. Y.

A TRIBUTE OF NATIONAL THANKSGIVING.

"OFFER to God thanksgiving; and pay thy vows to the Most High; and call upon me in the day of trouble, and I will deliver . . ."—PSALM 50: 14.

AMID the clash of arms and the roar of cannon, we are called upon to give devout thanksgiving to God. There are bleeding hearts—there are sad homes around us—and for many the tones of praise and gladness must have a sound discordant to their feelings; and yet, even for them, there is occasion for thanksgiving. Our blessings wear, perhaps, a brighter hue when seen on the dark background of public calamity and civil war. The contrast of the peaceful earth, and the clear, quiet heavens, is the more striking when earth quakes under the tread of armed men, and raging passions are ravaging and desolating the fruitful valleys.

I see man in the struggle of hostile passions. I see God in the rich, yellow harvest that feeds the famished millions; man burns the fruit of his own labor. Nature, at God's bidding, does what she may to replace it. When I look at men I see darkness and lowering clouds; when I look higher and beyond, I see God, the Sun of Righteousness, the Fountain of Joy.

If we count up our mercies now—mercies granted us above and beyond our deserts—how soon are we overwhelmed in the attempt! Life—continued life—while so many that we have

* Preached on Thanksgiving-Day, November 27, 1862, in the church of the author.

known and loved have gone—and the places that knew them once shall know them no more; health and strength, while others pine on beds of suffering, or hobble along assisting their maimed limbs with staff or crutch; reason and sound mind, while some are driven to desperation, or have been forced to occupy the cell of the lunatic; intelligence and the means of knowledge, while millions are the victims of ignorance and mental darkness; food sufficient and healthful, while others—like the Lancashire operatives—are crying for bread; raiment to protect us against the wintry cold, while many a one shivers beneath his tattered rags; homes to shelter us, while others wander, even in our own land, houseless and exiles; quiet firesides, over which a benignant government and a kind providence keep watch and guard, while hundreds of thousands of our countrymen know only the life of the camp and the vicissitudes of the march and the battle-field; genial friendship and loving and trusting hearts that beat in sympathy with our own, while so many scarce know the name of friend, or think with sad hearts and gaze with tearful eyes as they turn toward homes far away; the rewards of our honest labor, even though scant, while in other lands, one may not be secure of his hard-won earnings; above all, schools and sanctuaries, Sabbaths and bibles, and the voice of prayer and praise, all speaking to us of a world where there is no more sin nor sorrow, pain nor strife, and ever teaching us the way to that inheritance of the blest, where the wicked cease from troubling and the weary are at rest.

For these blessings, and ten thousand more, small and great, that we can not number, we should be base and ungrateful not to give thanks even in times like these. And yet, will not a true Christian philosophy go even beyond this, and note the blessings that are mingled with our griefs? Even in this war that is now upon us, he is blind who does not read in some of its darkest features the handwriting of the God of love. The blackest cloud has often its silver lining; a golden crown is often fitted to the brow of the thunder-head, showing that a bright sun yet shines, and when the storm is past, clearer skies and purer air will come.

We are on our march now through the Red Sea and the desert of our history, and I think we have before us the pillar of cloud by day and the pillar of fire by night. We have seen an outbreak of national feeling, a spontaneous declaration of loyalty to constituted authority, for which we feel bound to give thanks to God. A conglomerate of nationalities, we have been welded together by common interests, sympathies, and institutions, into a unity that is admirable. It is a great thing to have a great people—differing, perhaps, from the administration that is over them—yet giving to it a loyal support. It is a great thing, amid the clash of

arms, to have a little piece of paper—a printed constitution, a mandate of a judge—with nothing but an official signature to secure it reverence—commanding reverence—as if ten thousand or ten million men marched behind it. It is a glorious thing to have the great masses say with a grand unanimity: We abide by the law, and we recognize in the law the security we have for ourselves, our children, and for all that shall come after us. The shout, the huzza, that welcomes the national flag, as it is unfurled, indicates a brave and noble enthusiasm; and when that flag, wherever borne, shall carry with it liberation from fear and terror and stripes and imprisonment and bondage, so that it shall be hailed as a deliverer, as giving present and enduring security, the very prospect, the bare possibility, stirs the soul within us, and thrills our hearts beyond the note of drum or trumpet, or martial strain.

And who can forget, at a time like this, the generous devotion with which our brave soldiers have gone forth at their country's call, to fight, or to fall in its defense? The sight is a stirring and a noble one. Even in this hour of calamity it almost makes us forget our grief. Well may we cherish the memory of the fallen, who have fallen for us, and well may we cheer those that survive that have gone forth to fight our battles. How came they by this enthusiasm? How is it that they love their country and will fight for it to the death? It comes from influences and institutions that have trained them to be what they are, and for which we are indebted to God. Thanks be to his name that he has given us such men to lay their lives a willing sacrifice on the altar of their country.

And what shall we say of the fathers and mothers that have surrendered the pride of their dwellings and beloved of their hearts, at their country's call?—that have responded a "God bless you," "God speed you," as with youthful enthusiasm they have exclaimed: "Kiss me, mother, and let me go"? It was brave—it was noble to do it. We owe them a lasting debt—nay, rather we owe it to God, who kindled their hearts to such self-denying enthusiasm, and taught them to render the sacrifice.

And amid the gloom of civil strife—amid all the dire scenes of the great tragedy, there are some things on which we fondly linger, and which shine forth brightly, grandly, from the gloom. I think of some that have fallen and have left behind them a noble testimony that has been spread abroad, and held up to their country's gaze. I seem to stand by the death-bed of one of the bravest of the brave—Mitchel—the Astronomer, the General, the man, the Christian, and I hear him whispering—for he is fast sinking—in low tones: "It is a blessed thing to have a Christian hope in a time like this." Thanks be to God for such a testimony from a soldier's lips. And I might—if time would allow—cite other

examples of the power of faith which gleams forth with cheering light in this night-time of sorrow and a nation's peril, which should stir our hearts to gratitude to Him who writes his autograph of love in rainbow letters on the darkest cloud.

And who does not see that the lessons we are learning, if we have not already learned them, are worth more than the millions they cost, or the blood that furnishes ink to write them? When Dr. Alison, father of Alison the historian, preached a half century and more ago his Thanksgiving sermon for Nelson's naval victory of Trafalgar, he said: "There is something in the opulence of nations which has been found hitherto hostile to national virtue; and amid the long sunshine of prosperity there is a malignant spirit of selfish interest apt to arise, which withers the proudest promises of national greatness." It is only too true. Years ago wise men foresaw, foretold, and feared the coming storm. We had become prosperous and proud. We had all the self-exaltation and self-glorification of the King of Babylon, when he said: "Is not this great Babylon that I have builded?" We were great and wanted to be greater. We glorified the Monroe doctrine. We talked of manifest destiny. We were fast coming, as a nation, to feel that we could push the bounds of right to the limits of our power. We were preparing to swallow nations at a meal, and surfeit, like the anaconda, on living victims, heedless of the lethargy sure to follow, or the demoralization that was inevitable. We forgot that we had enough to do to train, and educate, and Christianize our own masses, and that this was a more direct road to enduring and healthful strength and prosperity, than the road by which armies march. We were overlooking the poor, the ignorant, the outcast, the degraded and oppressed. We were deaf to the cry of wrong, and blind to the sight of vice, immorality and injustice. Millions in our great cities—some rioting in wealth, others rotting in poverty, were sinking in godlessness, and we heeded it not. We took the stature of a man by the measure of his vote. Faction and party spirit were growing insensible to right and duty, as well as consequences. We were on the high road to ruin—the very road by which Assyria and Babylon and Rome marched to perdition, and we scarcely perceived it.

I will not say that our course even now has been fully arrested, but it has been checked. We hear no more of manifest destiny; we cease to talk of the Monroe doctrine. The sanitary, moral, and religious wants of our soldiers have forced us to think of them as men, and of our duties to them. We are confronted with the dangers, and hardships, and hazards to which they are exposed, and a noble Christian humanity has been evoked, which has done something for their relief. We are coming to see that we have uses for money besides hoarding and squandering, and that wasteful luxury is alike unpatriotic and unchristian.

Another important lesson is taught us, as by the force of circumstances we are led to ask—how was this war initiated, or why does it linger indecisive? The answer is one to humble us, and to bring the consciousness of guilt home to us all. The nest-egg of treason in the National Capitol never could have been hatched but by the brooding influences of moral corruption. Had every loyal State sent to Washington men who should represent truth, and principle, and Christianity, secession would have never dared to look them in the face. Its plots and conspiracies became effective only by the guilty complicity of a corruption that could be bribed.

And what has staid the march of our armies? Has not corruption leaked through every crevice and palsied the energies of the nation? Has not God been teaching us—"not by might nor by power, but by his Spirit"—the battle must be won? We must be honest and true; we must be strong in uprightness and integrity if we would finally triumph.

There are some men who suggest this, and others who suggest that, and who, with intensity of vision, can see but one thing, and think of but one, forgetful that sin is a Proteus, and is never to be crushed by destroying only one of its forms. We will not judge such harshly, for they may mean well; but when the Upas tree of sin is to be cut down, it is poor policy to fasten an axe to the end of a long pole, and at arm's length strike tediously and laboriously at some single branch, replaced, while it is hacked off, by another shoot that gives evidence of good pruning. The divine method is to lay the axe at the root of the tree, to smite down the trunk and all its branches with it.

The good sense of the farmer or the gardener teaches us an important lesson. He goes into his field and finds it covered with various weeds, but instead of calling in the aid of botanical science to classify them, and studying which is most obnoxious, and then going over the field to cut down that particular one, overlooking all others, he takes his hoe and clears the ground as he goes forward. That is what we should do. We should use the Gospel hoe to cut down every weed, just as it comes in our way, and clear off every thing that checks the growth of the standing corn in the garden of the Lord.

When we think of the iniquity of the world, it seems to us a kind of ocean, and we can not hope to check its rising tides by sweeping them back at one particular point. We must begin by invoking the aid of the God of storm and tide, and we must be prepared to meet every overflow of sin at every point. Else while we stem one current of evil, and forget others, they will flow around us, and pour in upon our rear, and defeat all that we have accomplished. There is no specific for the world's sin, except Gospel reform, that meets every phase of it. This strikes

at the root, instead of lopping the branches. It cuts up every weed, instead of wandering about to exterminate a particular evil. What we want, what the nation wants, is better men—men who will do that which is just and right, and without these it is vain to rely on specifics, or pour out vengeance on particular forms of sin to the neglect of others.

And who does not read—as the mantling clouds of smoke lift from our battle-fields—who does not read clearer and more clear in the light of blazing cannon, lettering their frowning folds, the admonition addressed to us as a nation, to put away every form of sin, and fortify ourselves anew by the manly virtues and the Christian morals of our fathers? What we want, to subdue the rebellion, is not more money, or braver soldiers, or larger armies, but truer hearts, and loftier principle, and purer virtue, and heaven-taught minds to guide and inspire us. Who does not feel this in such a time as this? God in his providence is writing it out before our eyes.

On the evening of a Fourth of July, when the fire-works have been kindled, you have seen streaming through the smoke and darkness, in letters of flame, some national motto, some memorable name or date—WASHINGTON—or, 1776. How it thrilled your heart as it met your eye, and with a proud smile you thought of the fiery lesson it read out to the eyes of thousands of spectators. But who, in these grander fire-works of civil war, in these pyrotechnics of Providence, amid the boom of cannon and the tramp of the fire-wrapt columns, does not see letter after letter prearranged by a superintending hand, coming forth to view, and gleaming through the smoke and dust of the fray, till he reads, "Righteousness exalteth a nation," and spells out what made the King of Babylon to tremble, that there is a God that ruleth in heaven and doeth his will among the inhabitants of the earth.

Thanks to his name for the kindly-meant, though stern, admonition. We need it—we need it above every thing else. Our sins are our curse, and our strength and wisdom are to forsake them. What we want is to make our people better. We want more power in the pulpit, more vigor in our Sunday-schools, more efficient means to reach the masses, more active measures to circulate the Bible and the tract, and disseminate every form of religious truth. This is our proper work—which may God deign to bless.

Nor will we forget, at a time like this, the cheering assurance of the text: "Call upon me in the day of trouble; I will deliver thee, and thou shalt glorify me." Thanks be to Him whose love gave utterance to the promise, and whose faithfulness will fulfill it. Our help is in God. He can effect our deliverance in ways beyond our thought. He can do it, and he will do it, if we call upon him for help in the proper spirit.

And yet it may not be in such ways as we might imagine. His ways are not our ways, nor his thoughts our thoughts. But we will at least praise him for the cheering hopes which his words inspire.

We will thank him also that we can trust all our imperiled interests in his hands. It is vain for us to attempt even to foretell the future. It may be that this nation is to be rent asunder. May God avert it! But one thing we all feel, that henceforth rebellion can never expect impunity, and that the stern authority of established government must not be trifled with; and one thing we devoutly hope, that the causes of the war, be they found where they may—in angry passions or selfish interests—shall be annihilated. If it is unsafe for this republic to hold in its bosom a sectional power, cemented into a conspiracy by the profits of the unpaid labor of millions of bondmen, and the war should result in its annihilation, I would not willingly believe that there is a loyal heart between the two oceans that would not respond: "God's will be done." If what a Southern statesman has declared—in the face of the world and in insult to the light of the nineteenth century—to be the corner-stone of the Confederacy, should be ground to powder, few, I trust, would be envious of the martyrdom to be gained by thrusting themselves beneath the rafters of the falling fabric; and if, as the result of the war, the flag which we all have loved, which we love still, and shall love till we die, shall come forth stainless from the strife, all its stars undimmed, the symbols of our future to endure like the stars in heaven, while the stripes shall be emblems only of a past, stripes and retribution for rebellion, and this flag shall float in the light and breeze over a broad, peaceful, happy, free, regenerated land, then might we all be ready, with true Methodist fervor to exclaim: "Hallelujah, Amen!"

The issue is in God's hand. It is well that it is so. Thanks be to his name for it! It shall tend to his glory, though it humble us. Prostrate in the dust, under the stroke of his judgments, we will yet exalt his name. We can not see how the rending asunder of this glorious heritage can work out results other than disastrous; but we have not God's foresight. We turn our eyes away from such an issue, and invoke an intervention that can baffle all the intervention of the nations, the false diplomacy of the world. We can not help feeling that God has great designs in reserve for us. All our past speaks the guiding hand of his providence. Our fathers were trained under his stern tuition. Truer men never lived; braver men never fought; devouter men than many of them never prayed; wiser men never constructed a civilized and Christian State. Our hills and valleys are fragrant with memories of their sufferings and their valor. Where is the dwellings in city or forest, or the sea-shore or the mountain, that has

not echoed to the name of Washington? Where is the hamlet, the village, the sheltered nook, that has not been visited by breezes that have swept over Saratoga or Yorktown—that have eddied about the shaft of Bunker Hill or the grave of Mount Vernon? Where has knowledge been more widely or freely diffused? Where has religion ever won more signal triumphs? Our lakes and rivers, do they seem designed to mock the littleness of the people that shall inherit them? Our Alleghanies and Andes, were they reared to pour scorn on the insignificance of the pigmies that should crawl at their base? Our broad prairies and teaming acres, do they seem designed to invite the culture of a despot's minions? It does not seem as if God suffered the iron wire to flash his lightnings across a continent, from ocean to ocean, just to show how many insignificant fragments of a great empire could be crowded within its span. Niagara's thunder was not meant to charm insects, nor the broad wealth of the Mississippi Valley as slime for worms to crawl in. Every thing about us, from the soil we tread to the stars that light us—from our early conflicts with savages to our present conflicts with traitors—from our forests to our mountains—from our log-cabins that tell of pioneer energy, to our cities that garner the wealth of a world-wide commerce—from the “dim aisles of the deep wood,” their green arches echoing with the forest hymn, to the pillared temple built for the worship of generations to come—every thing proclaims that this land—set by God's hand in the framework of two oceans, and hung on the broad side of the world, and already with clouds of witnesses—from the firmament of its history gazing down in scorn for meanness, and applause for virtue—was meant for men—men true, faithful, large-souled, liberal, Christian—whose policy could span the world, and take into view the ages, and labor for the whole human race.

“Our country, 'tis a glorious land,
With broad arms stretched from shore to shore;
The proud Pacific chafes her strand;
She hears the dark Atlantic roar;
And nurtured on her ample breast,
How many a goodly prospect lies,
In nature's wildest grandeur drest,
Enameled with the loveliest dyes!

“Great God, we thank thee for this home—
This bounteous birthland of the free,
Where wanderers from afar may come
And breathe the air of liberty!
Still may her flowers untrampled spring,
Her harvests wave, her cities rise,
And yet, till Time shall fold his wing,
Remain earth's loveliest paradise.”

The ship of state is in the tempest now, but she yet minds the helm, and we can not believe that she is to be a wreck. She is a noble vessel. Her keel was New-England elm; her knees were

Puritan oak; she was bolted with Pennsylvania iron, and in her construction, Yankee and Huguenot, English and Scotch, Dutch and Irish, wrought side by side, and though decked with Georgia pine and smeared with Carolina pitch, she had a sound hull, and through the Hellgate of Revolution, God gave her a Washington for a pilot. Out upon the open sea, she has fallen into weaker hands and the storm is upon her; but she is staunch yet and her crew are loyal, and though the storm has rent her sails and splintered her spars, and thrown her for a time almost on her beam-ends, she is righting herself now, and meets the huge waves, as they come, with a brave, bold front, bating no jot of heart or hope. Shall she be surrendered to the bands of pirates? Shall "the harpies of the shore" "pluck the eagle of the sea"?

"Oh! better that her shattered hulk
Should sink beneath the wave,
Her thunders shook the mighty deep,
And there should be her grave.
Nail to the mast her holy flag,
Set every thread-bare sail,
And give her to the God of storms,
The lightning and the gale."

But the God of storms will accept the consecration, and become Himself her pilot; then shall she be safe, and over the waves of time's ocean shall she bear a rich and precious cargo to bless the world.

THE PRAYER-MEETING.

For The Prayer-Meeting.

The Christian in an Eddy.

HAVE you not sometimes seen a fragment of wood or some floating matter drifting along on the bosom of the current, till, at length, borne within the circuit of an eddy along the shore, its course has been arrested, and there it has remained, circling with the waters, but nevertheless a prisoner? It is thus sometimes that the onward course of the Christian is arrested. He drifts aside from the direct course of the stream on which he has embarked, and by which he would reach his destination. He falls into some, if not frivolous and irreligious, yet vain and worldly association, and it proves an eddy by which, although he moves still, and perhaps never is at rest, he is still held a prisoner. He is, indeed, yet afloat. He has not altogether parted from Christian communion, but he has been drawn aside from the line of progress, and it may be a long time before he is so far brought back to a sense of his condition as to struggle back to his former position.

There are, indeed, dangerous eddies on every side of us—worldly associations that seem to border on the Church, and yet which serve to hold the soul under the spell of their attraction, and keep it from that progress in which its very life consists. If not absolutely, yet relatively, it loses ground. It no longer feels the powerful impulse under which it once moved. It is withdrawn from the great current of

Christian influence, and becomes, in fact, the *drift-wood* of the Church! Of how little value is it then! How is its effective influence reduced! How are its powers and sympathies and affections confined within the narrow circle where they are made to revolve in the round of folly, or to conform to the associations that make them its instruments!

For The Prayer Meeting.

The Faithful Saying.

PAUL thought the saying, that Jesus Christ came into the world to save sinners, worthy of all acceptance. Why should it not be? It is heaven's message of life and hope to a lost world! Let the famished refuse bread, and the naked, clothing; let the drowning man push back the arm stretched for his rescue, and the prisoner in his grated cell listen with apathy to the announcement that he is restored to freedom; but above all, let not a sinner, with the sentence of death within him, and the curse of a broken law, and the wrath of an offended God upon him, decline to accept the message which tells him of a Saviour, wounded for his transgressions, and bruised for his iniquities, suffering to redeem him, dying that he may live.

What think *you* of the saying? Is it indeed worthy of all acceptance? Is it not worthy of yours? Is it not what every sinner needs? Is it not that without which the blackness of guilt and despair must hang forever over his path? Will you refuse to

open your heart to the glorious message? Will you, by rejecting it, count yourself unworthy of eternal life, and shut out the light, hope and consolation which it affords? What is this saying, but the very radiance of the Sun of Righteousness? And will any man love darkness rather than light? His preference is his condemnation. He flies from his own salvation.

What would you think of a man that turned away from the light of day, the light that wakes the world from torpor, that inspires the morning song of the bird, that paints field and flower, and leaf with their own hues, that drives the darkness before it, and unavails the face of friendship, and cheers the laborer as he hurries to his daily task — what would you think of him, drawing back deeper into his cave, or retiring to his windowless closet, or shutting his eyes, as if against an unwelcome intruder? And yet the light of day is a feeble type of that more glorious light which beams upon us from the advent of Christ, as the Saviour of the world, and the folly of rejecting the one fully symbolizes the folly of rejecting the other. But are there not those who flee away from this light, who wrap themselves about with the shadow of their guilty pleasures, who retire into the darkness of their self-blinded minds, and in the caverns of their own fancies, forget that the Sun of Righteousness has ever dawned on our benighted world?

How is it with you? have you accepted this saying? or do you say, let all others accept it, but let me be excused? And why? If others need it, do not you? If Paul needed it, and welcomed it, and gloried in it, why not you? Are you not a sinner? Do you not need to be saved? Have you no guilt to be blotted out? Is there no danger that threatens you? Are the words, Flee from the wrath to

come, adapted to all, but not to you? Care you not that Christ came to seek and save? Do you hear the coming of the great Deliverer heralded without emotion? Do you say, dare you say, This message, this saying, is nothing to me?

Surely, if it is addressed to any, it is addressed to you. If it is meant for any, it is meant for you. If it can bring hope and joy and peace to any, you should allow it to bring them to you. Accept it, heartily, truly, unconditionally, and you are saved. Take the truth into your soul, and as lost and ruined by your sin, put your sole trust in Him who came to save sinners, and yours will be a justifying, saving faith.

For The Prayer-Meeting.

Improve Opportunities.

Oh how trivial a thing sometimes, to outward appearance, is the destiny of the soul made to depend! A word like "eternity" on the torn fragment of a leaf; a simple question like that addressed by a venerable Christian to one who became afterward one of the lights of the American pulpit — "Young man, when will you leave off your jesting with sacred things?" the perusal of a book which has either kindled some dormant passion, or waked to life a lethargic conscience; the momentary yielding to the lure of the tempter which has entrapped a victim beyond the hope of release; the prayer of a good man overheard by a heedless ear, and carrying an arrow of conviction to a heedless heart; a chance attendance upon the sanctuary, where some single sentence has proved like a nail in a sure place — how often has something like this turned the scale of a soul's destiny for weal or for woe!

A vessel on the waves feels the gentlest pressure of the breeze that

kisses its outspread sail. But there are times when the human heart is no less susceptible for good or evil. A mere breath will drift it from its course, so that it shall dash upon the rocks, or give it the impulse by means of which it makes a hair's-breadth escape. The danger is not alone in the storm and tempest. A slight veering from the path of duty may lead to a lamentable result, and the gentlest influence of the spirit, yielded to by the soul, may prove its salvation. In our religious life there can be nothing insignificant. Whatever brings us, as it were, one hand's-breadth nearer the Saviour, or bears us backward, though it be ever so short a distance, has a bearing upon our immortal destiny. The sailor will not willingly yield one inch to the force of an adverse current, and he will not fail to catch the lightest breeze that can impel him onward.

From him we may take a lesson. Let no opportunity for spiritual improvement pass neglected. Whatever can wean the soul from earth, and fix its affections on heaven; whatever can instruct, or cheer, or sustain; whatever can impress the heart or lend strength to its hallowed purpose; whatever can be used to lift it up out of the darkness and bring it into the light of God; whatever can foster the Christian graces, or brace the soul up to manly, self-denying, Christian effort—avail yourself of it. If there is a leisure moment that you can snatch for holy meditation; if there is a scene of Christian communion where your heart can blend its sympathies, its supplications, or its praises with those of Christian brethren; if there is an hour of social prayer which you can reserve out of the maelstrom of business; if there are truths heard from the pulpit or read from the Bible, the book, or the

tract which you can familiarize by an effort of memory and reflection; if there is an incident of life, or a dispensation of providence from which you may derive wisdom and instruction—avail yourself of these. The bee does not neglect the humblest flower. The great earth does not condemn the meanest seed. The little fiber at the root of the giant oak takes up the minutest portion of the dew-drop that waters it; and he that would grow in grace, or arrive at the full stature of a perfect man in Christ, must learn not to neglect the humblest opportunities.

Selected for The Prayer-Meeting.

The Christian's Triumph.

THESE three things—the embalming of the object lost to sense, in memory and hope; the consciousness of good ends subserved by its removal; the assurance of better things which can not be removed—are a sort of sacred tripod to the spirit, which no shock from earth or hell can overturn. They give ever a terrible strength, before which all pains of soul and body are harmless, and all tyrant inflictions defeated. In dungeons, thus sustained, she hath a joy, which the brave Haxtoun declared to be above the enjoyment of life's loveliest places. Martyrs have become unconscious to the cruellest torture, and in a divine heat of bravery have rushed again to meet them. And in these quieter times, orphans and widows, and afflicted people of every name, take refuge thereon, and bear calamities with a magnanimity to which knowledge, and philosophy, and sentiment are strangers; and seasons of affliction become pregnant with the greatest advantage; and they know the joy of grief, about which sentimental writers

do but prate. One by one they resign the spirits of their dearest kindred into the hand of the Lord's tender mercy. One by one, they deposit their earthly tabernacle in the silent tomb, and while the tears of nature follow the much-loved object, their spirits rise to heaven and hold communion with the spirit that is gone, and long for the happy day when they, also, being dismantled, shall join it in the realms of immortal bliss.—REV. EDWARD IRVING.

Selected for The Prayer-Meeting.

Counsel to Youth.

DEVOTE your young years to God and a loving Saviour. The first fruits are to be offered to him. The green ears of your youth are to be carried to his sanctuary. Think it not pity that the vain delights and sinful pleasures of youth should be lost—you shall but exchange them for spiritual delights, which are far more excellent, inward, and lasting. The joy of the Holy Ghost, the rejoicing of a good conscience, communion with God, the sense of his love, and the hope of heaven, are far better than the pleasures of sin, and will more than recompense your loss of youthful and carnal delights. And consider this seriously, that none have usually more comfort in their souls than those who are willing to lose their sinful comforts for God and their soul's sake.

Remember that you must give an account to God how you spend your youth, as well as for old age. Consider, as young as you are, how many years are already spent, and what account you are able to give to God of them. One day spent in sin is too much; and the sins of one hour deserve a hell. Younger than you are dead and gone. Let the thoughts of them remind you

seriously of your own account. Your call to God's bar may be next. Are you ready? Suppose God should call you away suddenly, what sentence could you expect from him? Are you ready if the Bridegroom should now come? It will be no excuse at judgment, if you be found, in your sins, to say: *Lord, I was but young.* He that is old enough to sin, is old enough for hell. You can not make sure of God's love and an interest in Christ too soon. You can not secure your soul too soon.—REV. JOHN MASON, of England.

Selected for The Prayer-Meeting.

What is to be Done?

WHAT is to be done? To believe in the Lord Jesus Christ is the thing that is to be done. This is the specific; and not for guilt only, but also for corruption. You may think it too simple an affair for lauding you in so mighty a consummation. Make it a more strenuous affair, by putting your own puny efforts to the stretch of their uttermost activity, and you never will succeed. The Syrian thought it too simple an affair when asked to bathe in the waters of Jordan for his leprosy. Nevertheless, he did it, and his leprosy left him. You will see God in a new light, if you look to him as reflected from the glass of the offered mediatorship. If we can turn you from the hatred of God to the love of him, this would be to regenerate you; and we ask you to look upon God as God in Christ reconciling the world, and the change from hatred to love is accomplished. These dark clouds which have hitherto lowered upon you from the pavilion of his lofty residence, will forthwith be dissipated. You will then see that all-majestic as he is,

and awfully as that majesty has been illustrated by the account that has been made for sin, yet there is a mercy, too, which shines forth in the midst of his other attributes, and rejoices over them. You will love the God who first loved you; and that unfailing promise, that he who gave his own Son will also freely give us all things, shall so invite the prayers and the dependence of every believing soul, that the spirit given to those who ask it, will be given unto him; and he, gradually formed after the lost image of the Godhead, will become a new creature—meet for the inheritance of the saints in light; meet for the enjoyment of that Paradise where sin and sorrow and suffering are unknown.—DR. CHALMERS.

For The Prayer-Meeting.

"The Rock Higher than I."

WILL any one tell me that there is, indeed, no "Rock higher than I"—that there is nowhere a refuge to which in my weakness I may flee for strength, and in my exposure for security—no infinite love that will watch over me with a guardian providence—no almighty arms that can fold me, secure from every hazard? It may be good tidings to one who, by the misery of conscious guilt, and by forebodings of judgment to come, has been forced to look upon annihilation with complacency, and to welcome the thought that there is no judge of the whole earth. But to me it is the gospel of despair. I am thrown back upon my own blindness and weakness. I mine my way, mole-like, into the uncertain future. I snatch, like a drowning man, at straws that sink with me beneath the waves of time, and I nowhere discern the ark that can ride secure over the troubled billows, no rock

that rises aloft over the spray of death.

If I have no Father in heaven, I am an orphan indeed. I am cast on the fatherhood of chance and accident. I can not blame him then

"Who hails thee, man, the creature of a day,
Spouse of the worm and brother of the clay,
Frail as a leaf in autumn's yellow bower,
Dust in the wind, or dew upon the flower,
A friendless slave—a child without a sire,
Whose transient breath and momentary fire
Light to the grave his chance-created form,
As ocean-wrecks illuminate the storm,
And when the gun's tremendous flash is o'er,
To night and silence sink for evermore."

What if I am wise above others, or can gaze with cooler nerves upon inevitable calamity? What if, with more than common art, I can dodge the arrows of misfortune? What if I can breast the waves with braver skill or manlier stroke? I am only more eminent by a lingering doom. I sink an hour or a moment later, a more tardy, but not less certain victim.

Is this the consolation that is offered me, to soothe my apprehensions of guilt? Is this the offset for the sacrifice of hope here and hereafter, that I may have the insensibility of a worm or a clod?

I will not believe it. Even in its own apostasy human nature protests against the falsehood. The instincts of our dependence are too deeply rooted in us to be eradicated by the weak sophistries of error. The rolling thunders, making the earth reel beneath our feet, remind us of One above, who maketh the clouds his chariot and rideth on the wings of the wind. The hardened wretch, bold in his impiety, trembles and sinks upon his knees, and cries out in agony and terror to the Being he has denied, when the arrows of the lightning blaze before his eyes, or

the strokes of calamity unnerve his iron frame. I could believe in rays without a sun, in leaves without a tree, in streams without a fountain, in shadows without the sunlight, sooner than in man without a God. Every fiber of my frame—fearfully and wonderfully made—every instinct of my spirit, teaching, nay impelling me to look upward, every inference of my reason, tracking thought, incorporate in material form, back to the great Thinker and Designer, testifies to “the Rock that is higher than I.” If there is hope any where, it must be found in Him. If there is help any where, it must be sought in Him. The loftiest human intellect can not solve the problems I want solved. The strongest human arm can not shield me from the dangers I dread. The shrewdest human foresight can not read for me to-morrow’s page, or interpret the meaning of to-day; nor can all the arts of sophistry or logic provide rest for a soul tossed upon the waves of anxiety for sin and guilt. None of these lift me from my misery or effect my deliverance. In spite of all I must cry out: “Lead me to the Rock that is higher than I.”

Selected for The Prayer-Meeting.

“The City of God.”

TRULY it is a strange city; little and insignificant, and yet of an extent equal to that of the world in which we live; stretching from pole to pole. But it will one day be gathered together from the dispersion, and be seen in one spot, in all its beauty and splendor. Every thing belonging to a city is found in this city of God. If you inquire after her foundation, it is a Rock that can not be moved. If you ask after her walls, the Lord is a wall of fire round about her. If

you ask for her bastions, fences and palisades, they are the perfections of our God that are around us; his wisdom to guide us; his omnipotence to protect us; his longanimity to bear us; and his grace to justify and save us. Only one gate has the city, and that is strait; only one way leads to it, and that is narrow. Whoever attempts to enter by another way, by stealth or by violence, over the walls, or through the roof, is a thief and a robber. When we look out of our windows, our eyes fall on beloved mountains—on holy places. Here lies Golgotha, there the Mount of Olives, here Gethsemane, there Bethlehem Ephrata—all much-loved spots, that lie close about us; our city therefore is Jerusalem.

The city has its festivals; for instance, when a poor sinner repents; its assemblies, when the brethren live together in unity and Jesus is in the midst of them; its concerts, when they speak together in psalms and hymns and spiritual songs, and Jesus touches the springs of their hearts; and its spectacles, when they sit at the foot of the cross, beholding the Man with the crown of thorns, and his holy blood, as, making an atonement for sin, it flows from his wounds.

The city has likewise its marketplace; there it is proclaimed: “Come, ye that have no money; come, buy and eat; yea, come; buy wine and milk without money and without price.” It has also its council-chamber, where One presides who knows how to give you good counsel. Its police, too; there every citizen has in his heart the controlling power of the Spirit. Has it also its watchmen? Surely it has; they stand on the walls and blow the trumpet, and cry aloud when they see the Bridegroom cometh. And here and there stand guards upon the watch-towers,

placed there by God, to see what hour the great clock of time has struck. And what do the guards announce in our days? "Past midnight," they proclaim from the house-tops, and the whole city is in anxious expectation of things that are to come.—**DR. F. W. KRUM-MACHER.**

For The Prayer-Meeting.

Keeping the Heart.

EMBOSOMED in a broad chasm between two lofty summits of one of our eastern mountain-ranges, is a beautiful lake, the more beautiful, perhaps, from its setting like a jewel in the frame-work of craggy, precipitous, and frowning rocks that watch grimly over its repose. In that sheltered nook, it may sometimes be seen—when the winds are hushed—like a molten mirror of silver giving back the image of the heavens, as they look down calmly upon it. What an emblem of the perfect peace of him whose mind is staid upon God! The everlasting mountains are his refuge, and under the shelter of a providence more faithful and enduring than the walls of rock, he takes upon his soul, as upon a mirror, the image of a heavenly loveliness.

But let one disturbing breath sweep over the surface of that lake, and though there are no stormy waves, no billowy wrappings, the charm of its beauty has fled. The feeblest ripple shatters the glorious image that was reflected from it. You see no more upon it the steady splendor of the sun, or the beautiful order of the firmament where the moon and stars walk in their brightness. The image of the heavenly has disappeared.

Is it not so with the believer, when the breath of worldliness, or the light gust of passion passes over

his spirit? It needs not the force of the tempest, or the shock of the earthquake, to destroy his composure, or blot from the face of his soul the calm beauty of heaven reflected there. A single ripple will do it. An intruding breath of selfishness will sweep over his spirit, and in a moment change its aspect, covering it with the jarring and conflicting images of earth and sky, of stars and stones, of clouds and crags.

If we would grow in grace—if we would perfect the image of the heavenly begun within us—we must "keep our hearts with all diligence;" we must beware how we suffer the breath of worldliness to sweep over them; we must keep them safely guarded from the intrusion of those vain excitements which in a moment transform the face of the soul, and obliterate the lineaments of the divine likeness. It is only when, "with open face," we behold, "as in a glass, the glory of the Lord," that "we are changed into the same image from glory to glory, as by the Spirit of the Lord."

For The Prayer Meeting.

Power of Parental Influence.

THAT gifted but eccentric statesman, John Randolph, once remarked to a friend that he had been called a Frenchman, because he took the French side in politics, and though this was unjust, yet the truth was, that he should have been a French atheist, had it not been for one recollection, and that was the memory of the time when his mother used to take his little hands in hers, and teach him, on his knees, to say: "Our Father which art in heaven."

What a strange power was there in that subtle influence which through a long course of years, held back that wayward mind from the black gulf of utter skepticism. It seems feeble at

the first—no cord, no cable, but just the finest gossamer that floats unharmed on the quiet atmosphere of that sheltered nook, where a mother teaches her child to lisp its infant prayer. Time chafes it, years strain it almost to breaking, the fierce temptations of the world press against it, and yet it does not give way. That silken thread, twined by a mother's fingers, becomes in fact the cable that holds fast to its anchor on life's stormy sea, a living vessel, freighted for immortality. One single memory—spanning the long interval of years, like an electric wire, connects age with childhood, carries the thought back to a mother's presence, bows manhood as of old at her knee, and teaches it still to lisp its infant prayer. It is too holy a thing for the rude assaults of temptation to sunder, too strong to be rent by the scoffer's breath.

What a lesson of encouragement to parental fidelity! You tremble for souls committed to your charge, as Eli of old trembled for the safety of the ark of God. He thought of the field of battle, and the uncertain issue of the conflict. You think of the stern struggle of probation, in which integrity, peace, and immortal hope are all at stake, of the bitter conflict in which the soul's eternal interests are imperiled. The hour will come when no father's care and no mother's love will guide these erring feet or strengthen this fainting spirit, when the home of childhood will be among the things of the past, and the fireside benediction of hallowed influences will have no visible memorial. And yet you can send forth that child armed with a panoply that temptation shall assail, perhaps in vain. You can clothe it about with memories that seem airy and evanescent indeed, but which may be more enduring than the iron mail. A simple, fervent, devoted piety, faithful to its solemn charge, has

many a ground for hope. Its expectations may be long deferred. Its eager anticipations may be doomed to defeat. The restraining influences of the past may seem strained even to breaking, but He who makes his strength perfect in our weakness, can and sometimes does make these the lines along which his own omnipotent grace will flash, to warn, admonish, and save.

The Actress.

AN actress, in one of the English provincial or country theaters, was one day passing through the streets of the town in which she then resided, when her attention was attracted by the sound of voices, which she heard in a poor cottage before her. Curiosity prompted her to look in at the open door, when she saw a few poor people sitting together, one of whom, at the moment of her observation, was giving out the following hymn, which the others joined in singing:

"Depth of mercy! can there be
Mercy still reserved for me?" etc.

The tune was sweet and simple, but she heeded it not. The words had riveted her attention, and she stood motionless, until she was invited to enter by the woman of the house, who had observed her standing at the door. She complied, and remained during a prayer, which was offered by one of the little company; and uncouth as the expressions sounded, perhaps, to her ears, they carried with them a conviction of sincerity, on the part of the person then employed. She quitted the cottage, but the words of the hymn followed her. She could not banish them from her mind, and at last she resolved to procure the book which contained it. She did so, and the more she read it, the more decided her serious

impressions became. She attended the ministry of the Gospel, read her hitherto neglected and despised Bible, and bowed herself, in humility and contrition of heart, before Him whose mercy she now felt she needed, whose sacrifices are those of a broken and a contrite spirit, and who has declared that with such sacrifices he is well pleased.

Her profession she determined at once and forever to renounce; and for some little time excused herself from appearing on the stage, without disclosing her change of sentiments, or making known her resolution finally to leave it.

The manager of the theater called upon her one morning, and requested her to sustain the principal character in a new play, which was to be performed the next week for his benefit. She had frequently performed this character to general admiration; but she now, however, told him her resolution never to appear as an actress again, at the same time giving her reasons. At first he attempted to overcome her scruples by ridicule, but this was unavailing; he then represented the loss he should incur by her refusal, and concluded his arguments by promising, that if to oblige him she would act on this occasion, it should be the last request of the kind he would ever make. Unable to resist his solicitations, she promised to appear, and on the appointed evening went to the theater. The character she assumed required her, on her first entrance, to sing a song; and when the curtain drew up, the orchestra immediately began the accompaniment. But she stood as if lost in thought, and as one forgetting all around her, and her own situation. The music ceased, but she did not sing; and supposing her to be overcome by embarrassment,

the band again commenced. A second time they paused for her to begin, and still she did not open her lips. A third time the air was played, and then, with clasped hands and eyes suffused with tears, she sang, not the words of the song, but

“Depth of mercy! can there be
Mercy still reserved for me?”

It is almost needless to add that the performance was suddenly ended; many ridiculed, although some were led, from that memorable night, to “consider their ways,” and to reflect on the wonderful power of that religion which could so influence the heart and change the life of one hitherto so vain, and so evidently pursuing the road which leadeth to destruction.

It will be satisfactory to the reader to know, that the change in Miss ——— was as permanent as it was singular; she walked consistently with her profession of religion for many years, and at length became the wife of a minister of the Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ.

God Willing to Pardon.

It is wrong to think of God as implacable, and of Christ as interposing and prevailing upon him to let him take the sinner's place; nor are we to think of Christ as having taken us out of the hands of an angry Judge, and that to Christ alone we owe our pardon; that God was a stern creditor, who needed to be satisfied, and that Christ was our true friend, who kindly discharged the claim.

The death of Christ was not the procuring cause of willingness on the part of God to forgive sin; it was the means chosen and appointed by God himself, by which it would be consistent for him to forgive sin.